THE FACTS ABOUT SOVIET-ALBANIAN RELATIONS

THE "NAIM FRASHERI" STATE PUBLISHING ENTERPRISE
TIRANA

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THE STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

October 20, 1961

At the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Khrushchev publicly attacked the Party of Labour of Albania. His anti-Marxist slanders and attacks serve only the enemies of communism and of the People's Republic of Albania, i.e. the imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists. Khrushchev, laying bare before the enemies the dispute long existing between the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Party of Labour of Albania, brutally violated the 1960 Moscow Declaration which points out that disputes arising between the fraternal parties should be settled patiently, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, on the basis of the principles of equality and through consultations. By publicly attacking the Party of Labour of Albania, Khrushchev in effect began the open attack on the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, on the unity of the socialist camp. He is fully responsible for this anti-Marxist act and for all the consequences arising from it.

Ever since our disputes arose with the Soviet leadership, the Party of Labour of Albania, guided by the interests of the unity of the world communist movement and the socialist camp, has striven with great patience to solve them in the correct Marxist-Leninist way, in the way outlined by the Moscow Declaration. Instead, Khrushchev chose the anti-Marxist way of aggravating the disputes, the way of attacks and slanders, of pressure

and threats, the way of making the disputes publicly known.

The Party of Labour of Albania earnestly welcomed the declaration made by Comrade Chou En-lai, leader of the delegation of the Communist Party of China to the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in which he pointed out that unilateral criticism and the laying open of disputes between the fraternal parties before the enemy, cannot be regarded as a serious, Marxist-Leninist attitude. However, even after this principled warning had been given by the representative of the Communist Party of China from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the most bitter attacks and slander against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania have been made by some members of the Soviet leadership as well as by some leaders of the communist and workers' parties of other countries. By doing this, they also take upon themselves a heavy historic responsibility as splitters of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement.

Under such conditions, in the face of the organized anti-Marxist attack by Khrushchev and his followers, in the face of slanders and fabrications which are aimed at discrediting our Party, in the face of a serious danger to the future of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement and the socialist camp, the Party of Labour of Albania cannot remain silent. By facts and documents, it will make the truth known to the entire communist and workers' movement, as well as to world public opinion, about the relations between the Party of Labour of Albania and the leadership of the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union, will show which side is in the right, and will expose the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian actions of Khrushchev and his group.

The unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist and workers' movement is being seriously endangered by the anti-Marxist actions of Khrushchev and his followers. In this situation, in order to defend the supreme interests of our people and Homeland and their socialist victories, to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the ranks of the communist movement and the socialist camp, the Party of Labour of Albania has taken and will continue to take with a clear conscience responsibility for every one of its actions before the international communist and workers' movement and before the Albanian people.

The struggle which is being imposed upon our Party and our people will be long and difficult. But difficulties have never scared our Party and our people. Our Party and our people have been tempered in the struggle against the numerous and continuous slanders, attacks and plots of imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists. Our Party and our people will not yield and kneel to the slanderous attacks, blackmail and pressure of Khrushchev and those following him. The Party and people, in iron unity as always, will firmly go ahead and will win on their correct path, on the path towards the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and of the cause of socialism and communism. We shall win, because we are not alone. With us, with the great cause of Marxism-Leninism, are the communists and the peoples of the Soviet Union, with whom we are bound by ties of unbreakable love and friendship which, through every storm and tempest,

we shall always preserve intact in our hearts; with us are the communists and people of China, all the communists of the world and the peoples of the other socialist countries. The victorious banner of the Party, the unconquerable banner of Marxism-Leninism, will always proudly fly in new socialist Albania.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

Tirana, October 20th, 1961.

ON THE RELATIONS
BETWEEN
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA
AND THE SOVIET UNION

Documents

Here follow official documents concerning the decision of the government of the Soviet Union on the recall of the staff of the Soviet embassy and the USSR trade representation from Tirana and the departure of the staff of the embassy and trade counsellor of the People's Republic of Albania from Moscow.

The contents of the verbal communication, made on November 25th, 1961, by the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, N. Firyubin, to the interim chargé d'affaires of the P.R. of Albania to the USSR, Gac Mazi, concerning the recall of the Soviet Ambassador Y. Shikin from Albania.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, on instructions from the Soviet Government, is authorized to make the following statement:

The Albanian Government, following the course leading towards the further aggravation of the relations with the Soviet Union, especially after the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, has created an unbearable situation for the carrying out of the normal activities of the Soviet Ambassador in Tirana and the other Soviet diplomats. The Soviet Ambassador is placed in such a situation that he cannot normally carry out the instructions of his Government. Indeed, the USSR Embassy is in a situation of isolation, the most elementary rules of international law are violated in this regard. With provocative aims, the Albanian authorities slanderously accuse the staff of the USSR Embassy of conducting hostile activity against Albania. Moreover, the Albanian Government recently made an approach which is unprecedented in the mutual relations between the socialist countries, demanding, without any justification, the reduction of the personnel of the Soviet Embassy to almost a third.

Taking into account the fact that the Albanian authorities have intentionally created such conditions that the Soviet Ambassador in Albania is deprived of the possibility of carrying out his diplomatic functions, the USSR Government is obliged to decide to recall the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the USSR, Comrade Y. V. Shikin, from Albania.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR asks that this decision of the USSR Government be brought, without delay, to the knowledge of the Albanian Government.

The note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the P.R. of Albania addressed to the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Tirana, December 4th, 1961.

EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF THE SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS — TIRANA

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the P.R. of Albania, upon order from its Government, concerning the verbal communication made on November 25th to the interim chargé d'affaires of the P.R. of Albania by the Vice-Minister Firyubin, has the honour to present the following to the Embassy of the USSR in Tirana, asking that it be transmitted to the Soviet Government:

I. The Government of the P.R. of Albania notes with surprise and profound regret the Soviet Government's decision to recall its Ambassador to the P.R. of Albania, Shikin, on the groundless and trumped-up pretext that conditions have allegedly been created where-

by he is deprived of all possibility of fulfilling his diplomatic functions.

The Government of the P.R. of Albania most resolutely rejects this false charge which is another slander added to a long series of calumnies and other unfriendly actions continually and systematically carried out by the Soviet leaders against the P.R. of Albania and which pursues one single aim — the further aggravation and worsening of fraternal relations between our two friendly peoples and our two socialist countries.

The allegations invented to justify the recall of Ambassador Shikin are entirely groundless and tendentious. The Soviet Ambassador has never been impeded in his work; on the contrary he has always had all the possibilities to fulfil his mission as ambassador. The truth and the only motive in this question is to be found in the fact that the authors of this grave and unusual act have embarked on the road of an unfriendly policy in regard to the P.R. of Albania, and pursuing this road they pass to ever more condemnatory anti-Albanian and anti-Marxist actions.

It must be pointed out that, among other things, the history of the beginning, continuation and termination of the activity of Ambassador Shikin to the P.R. of Albania, leads one to think that ever since the Soviet Government sent him to Albania, it has had the intention of recalling him after a short period. He only stayed five months in Albania and one cannot help recalling the fact that for the first time in the history of the diplomatic relations between two countries, and precisely at a moment when the sphere of the normal activity of the Embassy was greatly reduced by the fault of the Soviet

side, there was also sent with Ambassador Shikin an embassy counsellor having the rank of a plenipotentiary minister — an act which cannot be understood except as part of the plan for the ambassador's premeditated recall.

II. It is with the most profound astonishment and indignation that the Government of the P.R. of Albania learned of the decision of the Government of the USSR, which considered the further stay of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the P.R. of Albania in the USSR, Nesti Nase, impossible under the entirely trumped-up and unworthy pretext that the Embassy of the P.R. of Albania in Moscow has allegedly recently distributed hostile material against the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The Government of the P.R. of Albania most resolutely rejects this groundless charge and the protest of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR forwarded in this connection. The decision of the Soviet leadership on the departure of Ambassador Nesti Nase is a decision which forms a component part of its unfriendly policy towards a socialist state, a friend and brother of the Soviet people, such as the P.R. of Albania.

The Ambassador of the P.R. of Albania to the Soviet Union, Comrade Nesti Nase, has always conscientiously fulfilled his tasks as a diplomat, as an Albanian and as a communist, strictly observing the laws and rules in force in the Soviet Union. He has worked with all his energy to further strengthen and temper the lasting friendship between our fraternal peoples and our two socialist countries.

It must be said that in the accomplishment of his noble mission as a socialist diplomat, not only has he not had the proper assistance, but he has also been impeded by the Soviet authorities, by every possible means, including impermissible masked and open supervision. In fact it is known that the Embassy of the P.R. of Albania in the Soviet Union has for years been subjected to constant supervision through the medium of a special technical mechanism installed right from its construction, and even today it is subjected to open police control. Three militia men stand permanently in front of the Embassy controlling every person entering it, thereby impeding its normal functioning and the regular fulfilment of the diplomatic tasks of the mission, and violating the most elementary rules which must be observed with regard to a foreign representation and especially of a friendly and allied country.

The Government of the P.R. of Albania most energetically protests against this decision of the Soviet Government, on the basis of which, and without reason, they demand the departure of the Ambassador of the P.R. of Albania from the Soviet Union, a profoundly unjust and unjustifiable decision, in open contrast with the fundamental principles of international law, with the relations between socialist countries, and which charges the Soviet Government with a heavy responsibility for all the consequences between the P.R. of Albania and the Soviet Union.

Tirana, December 4th, 1961.

The contents of the verbal communication made on November 25th, 1961 by the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, N. Firyubin, to the interim chargé d'affaires of the P.R. of Albania to the USSR, Gac Mazi, concerning the departure of the Ambassador of the P.R. of Albania to the USSR, Nesti Nase.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR has become aware that the Embassy of the People's Republic of Albania in Moscow has been trying of late to spread, in an intensified manner, all sorts of anti-Soviet materials, containing malicious slanders against the CPSU and the Soviet Union. Among other things, the texts of the hostile declaration of the C.C. of the Party of Labour of Albania of October 20th last, and other slanderous anti-Soviet materials, have been addressed directly to the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, contrary to the unanimously adopted rules.

Some time ago, the Albanian Embassy in Moscow addressed to the Embassies of a number of countries, the Embassies of the capitalist states included, the declaration of the CC of the PLA of October 20th, Hoxha's report of November 7th last, and other materials containing many base lies and slanders with regard to our Party, to the Soviet Government and the decisions of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. Thus, things reached such a point that the Embassy handed over these slanderous materials to the enemies of the socialist camp.

One cannot also help drawing attention to the fact that Albanian citizens staying in the USSR are being largely utilized for purposes hostile to the Soviet Union.

Abusing the sincere aspiration of the Soviet Union to aid in training highly qualified specialists intended for the people's economy of Albania, the Embassy is mobilizing the Albanian students to conduct anti-Soviet propaganda. Thus, the candidate of the Moscow Power Institute, Jukniu, the students of the Moscow Light Industry Technological Institute, Kurakuqi, Gjipali, the students of the Moscow State University, Meçaj, Prillo, of the Chimico-Technological Institute, Hajdar, Haxhimihali, of the Moscow Petro-Chemical and Gas Industry Institute, Reshati, of the Leningrad Refrigerator Industry Technological Institute, Paçma, have attempted to distribute to Soviet and foreign students anti-Soviet documents and have expressed themselves slanderously on the questions of Soviet-Albanian relations.

All these actions against the USSR arouse justifiable indignation among Soviet men and women, for they are directed only with one purpose — to further aggravate and worsen the relations between our countries and our parties with a view to breaking the unity and cohesion of the countries of the great socialist camp.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has more than once drawn the attention of the Embassy of the P.R. of Albania in Moscow to the prohibition of the distribution in the Soviet Union of anti-Soviet materials and the mobilization of Albanian citizens staying in the USSR for this job. The Albanian side, however, did not take any measures to end the distribution of this kind of material. In addition, the Albanian Embassy, as indicated by the above-mentioned facts, is seeking of late to activate the distribution of materials hostile to the CPSU and the Soviet Union, which is incompatible with the fulfilment

of the normal functions of every diplomatic representation, and even more so of a country calling itself a member of the socialist camp.

In this connection, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR sharply protests to the Albanian Embassy in Moscow and does not consider it any longer possible for the Ambassador of the P.R. of Albania, Nesti Nase to stay in the USSR. At the same time, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR is instructed to demand the immediate suspension of the distribution of anti-Soviet materials by the Albanian Embassy in the USSR, and the carrying out of hostile propaganda against the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The contents of the verbal communication made on December 3, 1961, by the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, N. Firyubin, to the interim chargé d'affaires of the P.R. of Albania to the USSR, Gac Mazi, concerning the recall of the personnel of the USSR Embassy and of the Soviet trade representation in Tirana, as well as the demand for the departure of the personnel of the Embassy of the P.R. of Albania and of the Albanian trade counsellor to the Soviet Union.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, on the instructions of the Government of the USSR, declares the following:

The Albanian Government, bent on the further aggravation of Albanian-Soviet relations, especially since the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, has unleashed in its country a slanderous and hostile campaign

against the USSR. It is intentionally carrying out measures aimed at impeding the normal activity of the Embassy and the trade representation of the USSR in Albania. The Soviet diplomats in the P.R. of Albania are isolated. They are even deprived of the possibility of maintaining official contacts with the Albanian institutions and organizations. The Albanian authorities, for provocative purposes, slanderously accuse the staff of the Soviet representative institutions of conducting hostile activity against Albania. The most elementary rules of international law are being violated in regard to the Soviet Embassy and the other Soviet institutions in Albania.

The Soviet side has more than once drawn the attention of the Albanian Government to the inadmissible actions of the Albanian authorities with regard to the USSR Embassy in Tirana. However the Albanian Government has not only been unwilling to take any measures, but also made the conditions of the sojourn of the workers of the Soviet institutions in Albania more and more complicated.

An unheard-of step in the relations between states, particularly between socialist states, is the groundless demand of the Albanian Government that the personnel of the Soviet Embassy be reduced almost to a third.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR has been authorized to firmly reject the entirely inadmissible demand of the Albanian Government to reduce the number of personnel of the USSR Embassy in Tirana. It is well known that international law does not recognize the right of a country to arbitrarily and unilaterally limit the number of members of foreign diplomatic missions ac-

credited to it. In this connection, it must be recalled that Albania, at the respective international conferences, in the not too distant past, went on record against attempts to legalize an erroneous practice, by which the state, when accepting a diplomatic mission into its country, determines its numerical composition. In contrast, the Albanian Government now resorts to the methods used by the capitalist states to impede at all costs the diplomatic activity of the countries of the socialist camp.

The Soviet side cannot of course remain indifferent towards the unbearable situation created for the staff of the Embassy and the trade representation of the USSR in Tirana by the Albanian authorities. The Government of the Soviet Union, taking all this into account, and also the shameless claim by the Albanian side, according to which the Soviet diplomats would have nothing more to do in Tirana, adopted the decision to evacuate the entire personnel of the Soviet Embassy and its trade representation from Albania. Three members of the technical staff will be left to guard the buildings and other materials belonging to the Embassy and trade representation of the USSR in Tirana.

As to which state the Soviet Government will charge with attending to the interests of the Soviet Union and its citizens in Albania, the Albanian side will be informed later.

The Soviet side considers that under the conditions in which the Albanian Government is ever more consistently aggravating the relations with the Soviet Union, exploiting its diplomatic mission in the USSR for purposes of anti-Soviet activity, the further stay of the personnel

of the Embassy and of the trade counsellor of Albania in Moscow is entirely unjustified.

In this connection the Soviet Government demands that the entire personnel of the Embassy and the trade counsellor of Albania now in Moscow leave the territory of the Soviet Union.

The note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the P.R. of Albania addressed to the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Tirana on December 9th, 1961.

THE EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF THE SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Tirana

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the P.R. of Albania, authorized by the Government of the P.R. of Albania, asks the USSR Embassy in Tirana to transmit the following message to the USSR Government:

The P.R. of Albania, ever since its creation, following the victory of the national-liberation struggle over the nazi-fascist occupants and traitors to the country, and the triumph of the people's revolution, has based its foreign policy on an unbreakable and eternal friendship with the Soviet Union. This friendship was tempered during the Second World War and cemented after liberation by the Party of Labour of Albania. It grew out of the blood shed together by the glorious liberator, the Soviet Army, and the brave Albanian partisans in the war against the common enemy; it is based on the im-

mortal principles of Marxism-Leninism. The Albanian people, educated by their Party of Labour, have always regarded the Soviet Union as their liberator, and their dearest friend. The PLA and the Albanian Government have considered it a primordial task to preserve and continually strengthen this friendship, to increase and ever more consolidate in the hearts of the Albanian people, love for and faithfulness to the great homeland of V.I. Lenin and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In the years since the liberation of Albania, for a long period the relations between the People's Republic of Albania and the Soviet Union have been extended and developed in every field on the basis of the Leninist principles of equality, mutual respect, close cooperation and mutual fraternal aid. The Albanian people will always be grateful to the fraternal Soviet people for the internationalist aid they have given our country during this period, and which has been an important factor in the building of socialism in Albania.

During the course of these years, at all times and in every situation, the People's Republic of Albania, a loyal member of the socialist camp and the Warsaw Treaty, has strengthened its unity with the Soviet Union; it has firmly remained on the side of the Soviet Union, against all and every attack and slander by the enemies of the land of Soviets; it has resolutely defended the peace policy of the Soviet Union and has done every thing in its power to contribute to its triumph. The close ties of cooperation in the economic, political, cultural and military fields and the fraternal friendship between our two countries have created really internationalist and in-

destructible links between our two peoples. And, as they have always shown by their attitude and their consistent activity, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania have been and remain resolute fighters for the defense and further strengthening of the friendship and unity between the two countries and our two parties on the just and inviolable basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Unfortunately, during recent times and particularly since the second half of 1960, the relations between the People's Republic of Albania and the Soviet Union are no longer what they were previously; they have been greatly worsened and aggravated by N. Khrushchev and his group, because at the Bucharest meeting of the representatives of a number of communist and workers' parties, on June 1960 and subsequently, the Party of Labour of Albania did not reconcile itself with N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist views, it did not submit to his dictates on important ideological questions, it resolutely defended and still defends Marxism-Leninism. Not tolerating this principled stand of the PLA, N. Khrushchev and his group brutally violated the principles on which are based the relations between the socialist states, as well as the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations, and because of his ideological differences with the PLA, he passed over to unilateral state measures, each one more arbitrary and grave than the other, against the People's Republic of Albania, for the purpose of pressure and bringing about the submission of Albania.

During this period N. Khrushchev and his group have consistently exerted every possible effort to bring the Albanian people, the PLA and the Albanian Government

to their knees in order to aggravate Soviet-Albanian relations, and in this way on the state level, trampling under foot proletarian internationalism and all and every rule of international law governing relations between states. Suffice it to recall that, in an entirely unilateral way and with the sole purpose of impeding the building of socialism in Albania, N. Khrushchev cancelled the credits, granted on the basis of regular agreements, to the P.R. of Albania by the Soviet Union for the third five-year plan (1961-1965). He arbitrarily violated and broke the trade agreement for 1961; he unilaterally withdrew the Soviet specialists, he tore up, in fact, the agreements on cultural cooperation, under false pretexts he expelled a number of Albanian civil and military students from the Soviet Union and cancelled the agreement on stipends for the Albanian civil and military students who were studying in the Soviet Union, he violated the military agreements, he organized a real economic, political and military blockade against the P.R. of Albania.

By publicly denouncing, at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, the differences existing between the PLA and the present leadership, by distorting the truth and slandering in a banal manner a fraternal people and a Marxist-Leninist party such as the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania, N. Khrushchev has not only incited imperialism and its servitors against Albania, but he has also had the audacity to launch an appeal to the Albanian people for a counter-revolution. Thus, he has acted like the rabid enemies of the Albanian people, of the PLA, the socialist camp and communism. The Albanian people responded to this unheard-of provocation

by further closing their ranks around the Party of Labour of Albania and their Government, by strengthening their determination to build socialism and sharpening their vigilance in defense of their victories and their socialist homeland.

On November 25th, 1961, under N. Khrushchev's dictates, the Soviet Government recalled its Ambassador Y. Shikin from Albania with the fallacious excuse that "he had been placed in such a situation that he could no more normally carry out his government's instructions" and that this situation became "unbearable" "especially after the 22nd Congress of the CPSU". This claim is absurd and is only made with bad intentions. In fact it is well known that right from the beginning, and right up to the present, the Embassy of the USSR in Albania and the whole of the staff, from the Ambassador and right down to the most ordinary employee, have enjoyed the most favourable conditions, which were created for them. The USSR representatives in Albania have always been treated not only like diplomatic representatives of the friendly and allied country, the dearest to the Albanian people, as the Soviet Union has been and still remains, but like comrades and real brothers for whom not only the offices and establishments, but also the hearts of the Albanian people, were open. As to Ambassador Shikin, too, as previously pointed out by the Albanian Government, all the conditions necessary to the carrying out of his functions had been created; but Ambassador Shikin, in the eleven months since he first arrived in Albania, actually only resided here five months in all. Still more astonishing is the claim that his situation became "unbearable after the 22nd Congress

of the CPSU" as it is known that Ambassador Shikin has been out of Albania since August 19th, 1961, that is, two months before the 22nd Congress of the CPSU began.

The real motive, therefore, is not to be found in the alleged abnormal conditions, but in N. Khrushchev's intention to further worsen the relations between the P.R. of Albania and the USSR. Thus, on the same date, it also demanded the departure from the USSR of the Ambassador of the P.R. of Albania, Nesti Nase, under the pretext that, according to the Soviet claim, the Albanian Embassy was trying to distribute anti-Soviet material, and even utilizing the Albanian students staying in the USSR for this purpose, the Soviet leadership considering such material as the declaration of the CC of the PLA of October 20th, 1961, as well as the speech delivered by the First Secretary of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in Tirana on November 7th, 1961 as anti-Soviet. What is more, measures of obstruction and discrimination were taken against the Albanian Embassy in Moscow. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR officially informed the Embassy of the P.R. of Albania that it was forbidden for it and the Albanian diplomats in the USSR to have direct connection or make contact with all Soviet institutions, with the exception of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On the other hand groups of militia men surrounded the Albanian Embassy in Moscow, as if the two countries were in a state of war. They began to control every visitor to the Embassy and to prevent all and every Soviet citizen, including even the technicians sent by the Soviet office of diplomatic service, from entering the Albanian Embassy. It is a surprising fact that, while it is precisely the Soviet side itself which adopted

measures of unexampled isolation and restriction towards the Albanian Embassy and the Albanian diplomats in Moscow, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, N. Firyubin, in his verbal communication of December 3, 1961, claimed, with open slander, that "the Soviet diplomats in the People's Republic of Albania are isolated and deprived of even the possibility of maintaining official contacts with the institution and organisations of Albania."

The Embassy of the People's Republic of Albania in Moscow has always observed the rules of the Soviet Government concerning the distribution of propaganda materials in the Soviet Union and has never encroached on them. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania rejects, as a shameless and provocative offence, the allegation that the Albanian Embassy has sometimes distributed anti-Soviet material. All the materials it has circulated have been distributed in compliance with the rules in force, and always been inspired by the feelings of Albanian-Soviet lasting friendship, by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and based on the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations. It is indeed regrettable that, on such a groundless pretext, they demanded the departure of the Ambassador of a socialist state from the Soviet Union, and at a time, when the diplomatic representations of the capitalist countries in Moscow are freely distributing numerous materials. Just as groundless is also the charge made with regard to the Albanian students in the Soviet Union, who have been educated, by the Party of Labour of Albania, in the feelings of boundless love towards the Soviet Union, who have always set an example by their behaviour and their observance

of the rules and laws of the country. But, as the facts show, N. Khrushchev's group needs these trumped-up charges in order to expel the Albanian students from the Soviet Union, to break all contact between the Soviet men and women and the Albanian citizens.

As is evident, N. Khrushchev's group, in defiance of every internationalist principle and the usual practice of international law, unilaterally violated and cancelled all the agreements in force, and the cooperation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Albania, thereby deliberately and for definitely hostile purposes severing all relations between the Soviet Union and Albania. In this situation, in which by N. Khrushchev's fault the relations between the two countries were reduced to the last extremity, it is clear that it was superfluous for the Soviet Embassy in Tirana to have a staff of about 80 members. Therefore the Albanian Government rightfully and on a reciprocal basis proposed that the Soviet Embassy in Tirana should have the same number of staff members as the Albanian Embassy in Moscow.

Pursuing his anti-Albanian and anti-Marxist policy, N. Khrushchev went still further along the road of worsening relations between the USSR and the P.R. of Albania: On Sunday, December 3, 1961, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, N. Firyubin, proceeding from vile and provocative slanders concerning the attitude of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania towards the Soviet Union and the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, informed the Chargé d'Affaires of the People's Republic of Albania to the Soviet Union, Gac Mazi, of the Soviet Government's decision to recall the entire staff

of the Soviet Embassy and trade representation in Tirana. At the same time he demanded the departure of the staff of the Embassy and the trade counsellor of the People's Republic of Albania in Moscow from Soviet territory, simultaneously declaring that the Soviet Government would later inform the Albanian side which state would be entrusted with the care of the interests of the Soviet Union and its citizens in Albania.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania rejects, with contempt and indignation, the shocking and groundless slanders and inventions adduced in N. Firyubin's verbal communication as arguments to justify this hostile act which is unprecedented in the history of the relations between socialist states. The unilateral decision of N. Khrushchev's group to close down the Soviet Embassy and trade representation in Tirana, as well as the Albanian Embassy in Moscow, not only expresses his will to break all and every relation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Albania, but also brutally violates the principles, on which the relations between socialist states are based, as well as the glorious traditions of friendship which the Soviet Union has always maintained towards other socialist countries, towards all the countries of the world. Indeed, this decision is another pressure which is brought to bear upon the People's Republic of Albania. It is a part and parcel of the anti-Albanian and anti-socialist policy, which N. Khrushchev is pursuing with unheard-of violence, against the Albanian people and the People's Republic of Albania. It can only gladden the sworn enemies of the Albanian people and the Soviet people, of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, the imperialists and their ser-

vants, the Yugoslav revisionists. There is no doubt that neither this new hostile action against Albania, nor the threats and pressures of all kinds by N. Khrushchev will be able to spoil the Albanian-Soviet friendship. They will be unable to detach Albania from her friends and will never scare the real defenders of the unity of the socialist camp and of Marxism-Leninism. All the anti-Marxist aims and attempts of N. Khrushchev and his group will suffer an utter defeat.

We cannot pass over in silence the fact that, N. Khrushchev decided to undertake this action for the further-worsening of the relations of the Soviet Union with the People's Republic of Albania, which is a socialist allied state, a member for life of the socialist camp, a member of the Warsaw Treaty and the Mutual Aid Economic Council and which is led by a Marxist-Leninist party such as the Party of Labour of Albania, at a time when he is making every effort to strengthen the relations with the states of the aggressive North Atlantic treaty and with Tito's revisionist group — the sworn enemies of the Soviet Union and socialism.

The Albanian Government expresses its deep regret that the time has arrived when in the leadership of the Soviet Union, of the first socialist state in the world, and of the glorious Communist Party founded by V.I. Lenin, there are men like N. Khrushchev's group who attack the best friends of the Soviet Union and are doing everything in their power to injure the immortal cause of the socialist camp and communism. This new hostile act of N. Khrushchev will not help him to attain his diabolic aims, but will have an entirely opposite effect. The Albanian people will still better understand how

just and wise has been, and is, the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party of Labour of Albania. They will strengthen still more their unity around their Party and Government, and the sympathy for, and solidarity with, the Albanian people and the People's Republic of Albania will grow among all honest men and women throughout the world.

Despite these successive hostile actions of N. Khrushchev and his group, the Albanian people will always preserve intact their love and friendship for the fraternal Soviet people and for Lenin's homeland and Party. They are convinced that all the attempts and the anti-Albanian and anti-Marxist plans of N. Khrushchev and his group will completely fail, that truth will finally win, and Marxism-Leninism will triumph. The People's Republic of Albania will remain unshaken on its correct path, and will successfully build up socialism and communism.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, as always in the past, will in the future defend the foreign policy of the Government of the Soviet Union on all questions which are in the interest of the defense of peace and the struggle for the general and complete disarmament; in the efforts for the settlement of the German issue through the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the transformation of West Berlin into a free and demilitarized city. And it will resolutely fight for the preservation and strengthening of the unity between the countries of the socialist camp on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, while most sharply protesting against the Soviet Gov-

ernment's unilateral decision on the closing of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana and the Albanian Embassy in Moscow, declares that the entire responsibility for this grave and hostile action rests upon N. Khrushchev and his group. It expresses its full conviction that, sooner or later, the Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will condemn this criminal deed and the entire hostile activity of N. Khrushchev against a fraternal friendly and allied country such as the People's Republic of Albania, which is building up socialism and resolutely fighting imperialism and modern revisionism, always holding high the banner of friendship and unity with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries of the socialist camp, the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Tirana, December 9, 1961.

AN UNPRECEDENTED ACT IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Published in *Zëri i Popullit*, Dec. 10th, 1961

At the instigation of N. Khrushchev the Soviet Government decided to recall the entire personnel of the Soviet Embassy from Tirana and to demand the departure of the entire personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow. This unexampled hostile act against socialist Albania and the Albanian people is an unheard-of action in the history of the relations between the socialist countries, and a heavy blow against the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement. Such an act offends the feelings of deep fraternal friendship nurtured by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet peoples for our Party and people. Every Albanian and every honest man in the world is justifiably shocked by it. By undertaking this action N. Khrushchev only gives pleasure to our common enemies and provides them with weapons to discredit the Communist Party, the Soviet State and their traditional policy of friendship among the peoples. This shows the extent of N. Khrushchev's hostile feelings towards the Party of Labour of Albania, the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people who have been, are, and will remain loyal friends for life of the Soviet Union.

The twenty years of activity of the Party of Labour of Albania and the seventeen years of existence of the People's Republic of Albania are the most vivid testimony to the feelings of friendship and boundless love for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and for the peoples of the Soviet Union. Our people's friendship towards the Soviet Union has been forged by the Party of Labour of Albania, in the crucible of the struggle for freedom, for national independence, for the building of socialism. It has been cemented with the blood of the brave sons of the Soviet peoples and the Albanian guerrilla fighters who fell in the common struggle against common enemies. The Party of Labour of Albania has educated its members and all the working people of the country in the spirit of boundless love and firm loyalty towards the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet peoples. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have considered, and continue to consider, the friendship with the Soviet Union, its internationalist support and aid, as the important external factor for the country's liberation, for the building of socialism and for the defense of freedom and national independence. For this they have been and will always be grateful. The relations of the People's Republic of Albania with the Soviet Union have always been more than exemplary and there have never been any dark clouds over our two countries. Friendship with the Soviet Union has always been the underlying principle of the foreign policy of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania. It has supported, and backed up with all its force, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, its proposals and actions for the settlement of important in-

ternational questions in the interests of peace and security for the peoples, in the interest of our common cause. Albanian-Soviet friendship is not a result of some diplomatic combination, but it is a deep friendship of peoples, which draws its origin from the common road of socialism and communism, from the common essence of our social and economic order and state power, from the common interests and aims; the common struggle against imperialism, the common ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism.

Albanian-Soviet friendship will live throughout the centuries and there is no force in the world that can shake it. This friendship cannot even be spoiled by the latest hostile action of N. Khrushchev, the recall of the personnel of the Soviet Embassy from Tirana and the departure of the personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow.

Every honest man is surprised and unable to understand how N. Khrushchev could go to such lengths as to sever relations with a small, fraternal country, loyal to the Soviet peoples, a member of the socialist camp, firmly struggling, under conditions of capitalist and revisionist geographical encirclement, for our common cause, which holds high the banner of socialism on the Adriatic coasts, which at all times and under all circumstances has always shown by deeds its boundless loyalty towards the great homeland of Lenin. This stand towards socialist Albania cannot but cause amazement at a time when N. Khrushchev is so noisily preaching a policy of rapprochement and cooperation with all states, even with the most reactionary ones, which are pursuing a consistently hostile policy towards the Soviet Union and

the other socialist countries; at a time when N. Khrushchev is stretching his hand and trying to establish close ties with even the most reactionary milliardaires, with princes and kings, not to mention his rapprochement with and embracing of the Yugoslav revisionists and the cordial greetings and the good wishes he also conveyed to the Pope of Rome. These facts will convince not only every communist, but also make every honest man in the world recognize how hostile N. Khrushchev's action is against the People's Republic of Albania, and whom in fact this act serves.

N. Khrushchev's pretext for the recall of the entire personnel of the Soviet Embassy from Tirana, is that the Albanian Government is conducting a hostile campaign against the Soviet Union and is aggravating the relations between the two countries, impeding the normal activities of the Soviet Ambassador in Tirana and creating an unbearable situation for diplomats, etc. All these "serious" motives that pushed N. Khrushchev to such action are entirely groundless, they are slanders and inventions which are not substantiated by the real state of affairs. Whoever is familiar with the press and the real situation in our country must be aware that in it there is no word, no expression, nor the least spirit of hostility against the Soviet Union and its Government. On the contrary, it is N. Khrushchev and his followers who create slanders and inventions in order to sow enmity and hatred against our people. Following this procedure, a few days ago, an article in the newspaper *Pravda* of December 2nd, 1961, written by Y. Andropov, alleges that an editorial of the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit,* published on the threshold of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party

of the Soviet Union, stated that the Albanian leaders would "from now on develop their relations with the Soviet Union only on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems". This is a falsification and distortion of the truth. In no issue, article, or editorial of the *Zëri i Popullit,* nor in any other Albanian newspaper has such a thing ever been said. Such are the inventions on which N. Khrushchev bases his "arguments". What hypocrisy! He attacks us on the trumped-up charge that we stand for relations of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union and he is shocked by this, while he himself goes in fact beyond his own invention and proceeds to such an extent as to close down the Soviet Embassy in Tirana and ask for the departure of the personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow, an action which has nothing in common with the internationalist principles governing the relations between the fraternal socialist countries, nor even with the principles of peaceful coexistence about which he is making so much noise.

As regards the pretext that an unbearable situation for Soviet diplomats and for the normal activities of the Ambassador in Albania has been created, it is not even worth while to reject such slander. It is clear to N. Khrushchev and his group, just as it was to the Soviet diplomats themselves, that, in fact, in Albania, there existed, for the Soviet diplomats, more than normal conditions for the carrying out of their activities; and that the Soviet Ambassador, who allegedly, and especially of late, they say, has been subjected to great obstacles in the carrying out of his work, has been in Moscow since August 19th, 1961, and not in Albania. It is really sur-

prising that Ambassador Shikin has been able to see from Moscow the obstacles that have been raised against him in Albania of late!

N. Khrushchev's pretext that the Government of the People's Republic of Albania has violated the rules of international law by demanding the curtailment of the personnel of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana does not bear validity either. Why did the Government of the People's Republic of Albania demand that the personnel of the two respective embassies should be placed on a reciprocal basis? It is known that ever since the Bucharest meeting, of June 1960, N. Khrushchev has systematically and with premeditation pursued the policy of pressure and blackmail with a view to subduing and bringing the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people to their knees. Violating the signed agreements, he suspended all the credits which the Soviet Union had granted to our country, and recalled all the Soviet specialists from Albania. He almost entirely suspended the trade relations on mutually clearing basis. He suspended the stipends to all the Albanian civil and military students who were studying in the Soviet Union. He cancelled all the plans for cultural and technological-scientific cooperation between the two countries. He established a strict blockade of silence and political isolation around the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people. He violated the agreements in the field of military relations. In a word he established a "sanitary cordon" around the People's Republic of Albania. Do not these things fully justify the demand of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania to

place the personnel of both embassies on a reciprocal basis from the point of view of numbers? What were 80 persons of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana to do in these conditions while the sphere of their activity had been greatly narrowed by the unilateral restrictive economic, cultural and political measures taken by N. Khrushchev with regard to the People's Republic of Albania?

The real reason for N. Khrushchev's extreme action is not the trumped-up charges which he makes his pretext. The real cause must be sought in N. Khrushchev's revisionist viewpoints by every possible means and in his anti-Marxist attempts to force his views on to the other parties. Beginning right from the Bucharest meeting, and particularly after the Moscow meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties, where the Party of Labour of Albania openly expressed its opinions and criticized in a principled manner and with courage N. Khrushchev's opportunist views and anti-Marxist actions, in retaliation for this, and in order to silence our Party, subdue it, and as a lesson to any one that would dare to object to N. Khrushchev, he extended the ideological differences to the field of state relations and began to behave towards the People's Republic of Albania as he would towards an enemy country. After systematically carrying out one after another, the economic blockade, the blockade of silence and political isolation, etc., in an attempt to bring our Party to its knees, at the 22nd Congress he went so far as to publicly attack, by slanders and charges of the basest nature, the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders, and to make open counter-revolutionary appeals for the overthrow of the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour and State, thereby

brutally interfering in the internal affairs of a sovereign socialist, friendly and allied country. As he failed in all these attempts and could not attain his purpose, he also committed another hostile action against the People's Republic of Albania. The closing down of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, and the demand for the departure of the entire personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow, is a natural result of the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian road which N. Khrushchev has been pursuing for sometime towards the Party of Labour of Albania, the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people. However, through this unexampled hostile action N. Khrushchev has further exposed himself, not only before the Albanian people and the Soviet people, but also before the whole international communist and workers' movement, before world public opinion.

This unprecedented action in regard to the relations between socialist countries, sheds light on N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist conceptions on the equality and independence of the communist parties and socialist states, be they small or big, and on their inalienable right to have their own views and freely express them. The Leninist principles of equality, independence and non-interference in the domestic affairs of one another, are used by N. Khrushchev as the means of bluff, because, in fact, the Party of Labour of Albania had only to express its viewpoint on some questions of present-day world development and the international communist movement contrary to N. Khrushchev's revisionist conceptions, to become the target for a barrage of abuse and all the methods, including even those that have been, and are

being utilized by the imperialists and the other most reactionary forces, are directed against it.

Where does N. Khrushchev aim to get by his latest hostile action against the People's Republic of Albania? Pursuing the same course and aims as previously, by this action, too, he wants to scare and subdue the Party of Labour of Albania, to alienate it from the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist position, to shake our people's faith in the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, to disturb the Albanian people's feelings of friendship towards the Soviet Union, to undermine the Soviet people's friendship and love for the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, to create new difficulties in the building of socialism in Albania. Doubtless, N. Khrushchev is making further calculations. In the international arena, he aims to threaten and warn any other party and country that would dare to object to his point of view and actions, thus greatly impairing the cause of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

But N. Khrushchev's efforts are in vain. He will never succeed in achieving these aims. The Albanian people are united like flesh to bone with their Party, because the experience of life itself has convinced them of the wise leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, of its correct line, of its boundless loyalty to the cause of the people and socialism, of its policy of friendship and close relations with the Soviet Union, with the Soviet Communist Party and Government. Under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian people have won historic victories during the last twenty years — they have liberated the country from the fascist in-

vaders and established the people's power; they have reconstructed the war-ravaged country; they have overcome the age-old backwardness and achieved great successes in building up a socialist society; they have frustrated all and every provocation and plot of the imperialists and other enemies of our people; they have defended the freedom and independence of our homeland. The unity of our people and our Party, tempered in struggle and in work, is today stronger than ever. No intrigue or pressure, plot or blackmail can impair this iron unity. In the face of it, all the efforts of the imperialist and modern revisionist enemies will shamefully fail as they have failed in the past.

N. Khrushchev's attacks, slanders and hostile actions, including his latest action, will not affect the pure feelings of friendship that our people nourish for the fraternal Soviet peoples, for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government. These feelings have been deeply rooted by our Party in the heart of every Albanian. The glorious Soviet Union, the Soviet peoples, the great Party of Lenin have been, are, and will always remain beloved and dear friends of our people. Our people and Party have loved and continue to love them both in happy and difficult days. They have shared and continue to share with them joys and sorrows. They have been, are, and will for ever remain linked with them.

The Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania will firmly march along the correct road of socialist construction and defense of our socialist homeland. Temporary difficulties will not stop us on our road. We are sure of our future. The tasks of the third five-year plan

will be fulfilled and overfulfilled, regardless of the obstacles that N. Khrushchev and his followers are trying to raise before us. Socialist Albania will live and flourish continuously with every passing day. The patriotism and the revolutionary spirit of our people, the correct leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and the internationalist aid and support of our friends, the international solidarity of the working people, are a sure guarantee of this.

The Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania know no fear. They do not fear the pressure and blackmail of N. Khrushchev and his friends. A socialist country and a member of the socialist camp, the People's Republic of Albania will have, as the foundation of its entire foreign policy, the strengthening of the friendship and the fraternal cooperation with the countries of the world socialist system on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism as it had in the past. Regardless of N. Khrushchev's hostile action in recalling the personnel of the Soviet Embassy from Tirana and in demanding the departure of the personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania will march alongside the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the struggle to safeguard and strengthen peace, will support the proposals and measures of the Soviet Government for settling international questions in the interest of the peoples. In the future, too, our Party and Government will unswervingly continue their resolute and principled struggle to unmask the warmongering and aggressive plans and activities of imperialism headed by the United States imperialism, will

struggle against modern revisionism and will always maintain their revolutionary vigilance. Our Party and Government will consistently pursue their policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different political and social systems, will struggle to relax tension in the relations among the states and will make their contribution to the peaceful settlement of the problems exercising the minds of the peace-loving peoples. As in the past, our Party and people will unreservedly support the sacred struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation.

The Albanian Party and people, thoroughly disgusted, protest with deep indignation against N. Khrushchev's latest unprecedented hostile act against the People's Republic of Albania. They are deeply convinced that they are on the correct road and that the Soviet peoples and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which have been tempered by pure feelings of proletarian internationalism, of love and friendship between the peoples, are and will be with them in opposing this act, which is fatal not for us but for Khrushchev's group themselves. Our Party is struggling for a great cause, for the truth of Marxism-Leninism, to safeguard and strengthen the sound unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement against modern revisionism, and against Yugoslav revisionism in particular, against the opportunist and revisionist distortions and the splitting activities of N. Khrushchev, for the triumph of our common cause, of socialism, of peace and the freedom of peoples. On this road, marching hand in hand with the fraternal parties and the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries, as well as with all the communist and workers'

parties of the world, our Party and people will win full victory over the imperialist enemies and the revisionists. Marxism-Leninism is invincible. Socialism and communism will triumph.

SLANDERS AND FABRICATIONS CANNOT STAND UP TO FACTS AND DOCUMENTS

Recently, and especially since the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Soviet propaganda, with a view to arguing the "hostile attitude" allegedly taken by the Party of Labour of Albania, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people against the Soviet Union, has been energetically resorting to slanders and fabrications through the press and radio to distort and falsify the truth about a series of questions. Among these we mention here only three: the question of the Soviet specialists who were working in Albania, the question of the Palace of Culture and the students' issue. In order to shed light on the truth, we publish here some of the facts and documents which clarify these three questions.

1. THE TRUTH ABOUT THE QUESTION OF THE SPECIALISTS

Article published in the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit*, December 19, 1961

The anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian attacks which N. Khrushchev and his group directed from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union against the Party of Labour of Albania, the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people,

included slanders and fabrications concerning the question of the Soviet specialists who were working in our country.

O. Kusinen, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, slanderously said that "the Soviet specialists in Albania, invited by the Albanian Government itself, were expelled by the latter from Albania." P. Pospelov, former alternate member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, went still further. He fabricated the lie: "During the recent Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania we encountered a series of wholly impermissible instances of open anti-Soviet attacks by Albanian personalities, instances of a derisive and hostile stand against our specialists, geologists and Soviet sailors." Harping on the same tune, that the Soviet specialists had been "expelled" by the Albanian leaders, now after the 22nd Congress, N. Khrushchev's propagandists think that something will come out of their slanders. For truth's sake we are obliged to refer to some facts which manifest themselves in the course of events.

On December 21, 1960, the Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, Comrade Abdyl Këllezi, sent the following letter to the Chairman of the State Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries under the USSR Council of Ministers, S. A. Skachkov:

"Highly esteemed Comrade Chairman:

On December 14, 1960, a list of the matters on which the Government of the People's Republic of Albania requested the technical aid of the USSR Government for

the year 1961 was handed to the adviser on economic questions to the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Tirana, Comrade K. V. Artemiev. We ask you to study this request by the Government of the People's Republic of Albania so that it may be carried out by the USSR institutions at the most convenient time."

The list of the matters for which the Government of the People's Republic of Albania requested technical aid from the Government of the Soviet Union for the year 1961 includes the sectors of the Ministry of Industry, the Ministry of Mining and Geology, the Ministry of Construction, etc. The list specifies the kinds of technical specialities that are needed and the number of specialists. It specifies the period of their stay in our country, and, for some specialists, an extension of the term of their stay in Albania is requested.

However, while the Government of the People's Republic of Albania was waiting for a positive reply to its request, on January 20, 1961, the acting adviser on economic affairs to the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, A. Pikalov, on his own request, had an interview with the Minister of Mining and Geology of the People's Republic of Albania, Comrade Adil Çarçani, and formally informed him that "the State Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries under the USSR Council of Ministers has decided to recall within a period of 7-10 days the Soviet specialists working on the oil system in Albania, for the reason that the November 22, 1957 agreement has expired."

Of course, the Soviet leadership had the right not to accept the extension of the term of the Soviet specialists' stay in Albania as requested by our Government, but they

by no means had or have the right to distort the facts in this case, trying to lay the blame for the departure of the specialists on the Albanian Government.

On February 24, 1961, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania, in relation to the withdrawal of the Soviet specialists from Albania, sent the following note to the USSR Government:

"As the Government of the Soviet Union knows, on December 21, 1960, the Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, Abdyl Këllezi, addressed to the Chairman of the State Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries under the USSR Council of Ministers, S. A. Skachkov, the Albanian Government's request for technical aid from the Soviet Union for the year 1961 including the extension of the period of the sojourn of the Soviet oil specialists.

"On January 20, 1961, while our Government was waiting for a positive reply to this request, the acting adviser on economic questions to the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, A. Pikalov, called on the Minister of Mining and Geology of the People's Republic of Albania, Adil Çarçani, and formally informed him that the State Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries under the USSR Council of Ministers had decided to withdraw within a period of 7-10 days the Soviet specialists working on the oil system in Albania. And in fact the Soviet oil specialists have already left Albania.

"The withdrawal of the oil specialists by the Soviet Government at a time when the Albanian Government had formally asked for an extension of the term of their

stay, damaged such an important sector of the Albanian economy as the oil sector.

"The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, pointing out the above, expresses its profound regret at this unilateral action of the Government of the Soviet Union."

With a view to deceiving public opinion, distorting the truth and laying the responsibility for everything on the Albanian side, the Soviet leaders, through their representatives in Tirana, "recalled" after two months that the blame for the departure of the Soviet oil specialists lay not with the Soviet but with the Albanian authorities! With regard to this, in its note of April 24, 1961, the Soviet Embassy in Tirana pointed out:

"The assertion contained in the note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania that the departure of the 26 Soviet oil specialists from Albania to the USSR in February took place as a result of the unilateral actions of the Soviet Government, is entirely a fabrication. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania was informed in due time that the Soviet Government, despite the expiry of the terms of the Soviet oil specialists' stay in Albania, had instructed the Soviet bodies concerned to take into consideration the request of the Albanian side and leave the Soviet oil specialists in Albania.

"But the Albanian Administration of the Oil Combine, on the instructions of the Minister of Mining and Geology of the People's Republic of Albania, dismissed the above-mentioned Soviet specialists, proposing to them to leave the Combine within three days."

As is evident, everything is shamelessly reversed. But the facts mentioned above, such as the Albanian Government's request for the extension of the term of the Soviet oil specialists' stay in Albania addressed to S. A. Skachkov, to which there was no positive reply, as well as the official statement by A. Pikalov to Comrade A. Çarçani on January 20, 1961 concerning the withdrawal of the Soviet oil specialists, refute the "arguments" adduced in the delayed note of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana.

It is clear that the note of the Soviet Embassy pursued also another aim. It had to prepare the ground for the departure later of all the Soviet specialists who were in Tirana. Indeed, in the April 24, 1961 note the issue is presented as if the Albanian authorities of the Central Administration of Geology were treating the Soviet specialists badly and impeding them in their work. And to "prove" this it is said that the offices where the Soviet specialists were working were opened and the documents which were on the desks or shelves checked; and, finally, that the Albanian Administration of Geology had obstructed for a certain time the work of the Soviet specialists engaged in the compilation of Albania's general geological map. These "arguments" are sheer fabrications. In reality, according to the rules which are known in our State Administration concerning the preservation of State secrets, just as in every institution, in the Geology Administration, too, there have been effected the usual controls for the preservation of the secret documents, whether in the offices of the Albanian workers or in those of the Soviet specialists. The commission that carried out this control included, besides the Albanian authorities, also three Soviet

specialists, namely Konstantin Briantsev, Semyon Pogrebinsky and Vladimir Kurochkin, who displayed in this respect a full spirit of cooperation.

As regards the second "argument", that the specialists engaged in the compilation of the geological map had been left without work, it is entirely preposterous and needs no refutation. We need only to point out that the Albanian authorities were interested in the earliest possible completion of the map and were paying salaries to the Soviet specialists for this purpose. Therefore there was no reason for the Albanian authorities to raise obstacles, as alleged in the note of the Soviet Embassy.

The real aim of the Soviet side in fabricating the above "arguments" is quite clearly shown by the very note of April 24, 1961 of the Soviet Embassy, the last paragraph of which reads:

"Considering the above, we cannot help reaching the conclusion that in the aide memoire and note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania attempts are intentionally made to deny the indisputable facts about the unfriendly attitude towards the Soviet specialists and there is shown a lack of desire on the part of the Albanian authorities to take the necessary measures with a view to creating normal conditions for the work of our specialists. This can be explained only by the fact that the Albanian side, apparently, not only has no interest in the aid of the Soviet specialists, but also, by its unfriendly actions towards them, is directly seeking to bring pressure to bear upon the Soviet side in order to oblige us to recall the Soviet specialists to the USSR.

"In the prevailing conditions, the Soviet side does not deem it possible to send to Albania new Soviet specialists or to extend the terms of the stay for the specialists now working there.

"The USSR Embassy to the People's Republic of Albania is availing itself of this occasion to reiterate its respect to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania."

Not even waiting for our Government's reply to this note, which was handed to our Foreign Ministry on April 25, 1961, some 50 Soviet specialists, on orders of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, quit their jobs on that same day and got instructions to leave Albania at once. Some of these specialists could inform the establishments where they worked only two hours before their departure. Thus, within the day almost all the Soviet specialists, including even those whose contracts of stay in Albania had not yet expired, were withdrawn. And after a few days the few specialists still remaining in the People's Republic of Albania left the country, too.

This is the truth about the departure of the Soviet specialists from Albania. They were withdrawn by the Soviet leadership, calculating to damage our people's economy on the one hand and to undermine Albanian-Soviet friendship on the other. The fabrications about the "unbearable atmosphere" and that "the Albanian side does not like the stay of the Soviet specialists in Albania", etc., which aim at laying on our Government the responsibility for the ugly action committed by the Soviet leaders towards our country, are shocking indeed. They are fabrications and grave offenses against the feelings of fraternal love, deep respect and cordial

attitude of the Albanian people towards the Soviet men and women, and against the Soviet men and women themselves who lived and worked in Albania.

He who makes such tendentious fabrications does not know the reality of the unbreakable ties uniting the Albanian people with the Soviet people. Just as in the struggle for Albania's liberation from fascist occupation the blood of the Albanian guerrilla fighters was shed and mixed together with the blood of the glorious Red Army, in the struggle for the building of socialism in Albania the sweat of the Albanian workers and specialists was shed and mixed together with the sweat of the Soviet workers and specialists.

Whatever attempts are made and whatever "arguments" are invented, they cannot justify the unjust decision of the Soviet Government to withdraw the Soviet specialists from Albania. The best witnesses to the feelings towards the Soviet men and women, to the stand towards them and their treatment by the Albanian people and their Party and Government, the best witnesses to our just thesis are the Soviet citizens themselves, the Soviet specialists and military personnel who have been in our country, every Soviet citizen that has been in contact, anywhere in Albania, in the Soviet Union or in any other country, with any citizen of our People's Republic.

Although the withdrawal of the Soviet specialists from Albania was decided upon by the Soviet Government itself with definite aims alien to the character of the relations between socialist countries, harmful to Albanian-Soviet friendship and opposed to the principles of the 1960 Moscow Declaration of the 81 communist

and workers' parties, the Soviet Government made a series of fantastic and groundless fabrications against the Albanian Government.

Our Party has continually and on all occasions imbued our people with a feeling of love and most profound respect for the Soviet men and women, whom they have considered as friends and brothers. Everyone in our country feels a grave personal offense in learning how the Soviet leadership speculates in slanders such as the so-called "unbearable atmosphere" for the Soviet men and women in Albania. Documents may be falsified and speeches may be delivered against our country. We have seen and heard many times such slanders and charges up to the present and we often have no time to pay attention to them all. But if you tell the Albanian that he does not respect or that he offends the Soviet man, he will never pardon you for this and he will simply consider this as one of the most vulgar and shameless provocations.

2. THE TRUTH ABOUT THE QUESTION OF THE PALACE OF CULTURE

Article published in the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit*, December 20, 1961

Recently, some Soviet propagandists, with the aim of sowing hostility between our two friendly and allied countries and between our two fraternal peoples, have taken up, among numerous slanders, the question of the Palace of Culture. They present the facts dealing with this question reversely. They shamelessly make out as

if it were the Albanian leadership who by "manoeuvring", "trying to discredit the Soviet Government, has one-sidedly rejected this present".

Here is what the documents and facts show about the truth on the Palace of Culture question.

By a January 1959 decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a palace of culture was to be built in the city of Tirana as a present from the Soviet Union to the Albanian people. The construction of the palace was to be carried out during the years 1961-1962. In March-April 1959, representatives of the Soviet side came to Albania to discuss the principal conditions of the undertaking of the construction of the palace by the Albanian State Building Enterprise "December 21". In April 1960, Soviet designers brought to Tirana some designs of the project of the palace. Together with the designs in Tirana arrived the director of the Mosproject, A. A. Osmer, and the author of the design V. A. Butuzov. These designs were broadly discussed by the technical council of the Ministry of Construction and at last, the design, on which the Soviet designers were also insisting and which had been approved by Gosstroi (the State Building Committee under the USSR Council of Ministers), by GKES and the Architectural-Town Planning Council of the Mosproject, was approved. The protocol of the approval of the project was signed by the Minister of Construction, Josif Pashko, on April 23, 1960 and handed over to the director of the Mosproject, A. A. Osmer. In May 1960 the main plans for the carrying out of the building of the Palace of Culture were approved by the Albanian Government. In this protocol, the Albanian side made

some remarks and these were considered correct by the Soviet designers. These remarks concerned mainly the architectural execution of the work, suggesting a very small increase in the size of the project in two places: to add five to six rooms to the club proper and two halls to the theatre. Besides this, at the end of the above protocol is stated: "All the above modifications and additions should be made on the basis of a more rational exploitation of the different parts of the Palace of Culture."

On May 29, 1960 the planting of the stakes for the building was started. On June 6, 1960 the construction work got under way, and on July 14, 1960 the first concrete was poured at the project.

The Albanian side took all the steps and during the second quarter of 1960 the working pace was very rapid, and progress ahead of schedule. This work was carried out on the basis of the schedule approved by the representatives of the Soviet side and the "December 21" State Building Enterprise of Tirana.

Beginning with December the work was slowed down and by January 1961 the Soviet side had completely stopped the supplies for the construction of the palace, both designs and materials, although even up to that time a very small part of them had been delivered. The failure to dispatch the designs and materials brought about the non-fulfilment of the plan for the first four months of 1961, which was carried out only by 52 per cent. The rational utilization of manpower and machines was greatly hampered and this brought to the "December 21" State Building Enterprise a loss of 975,000 leks. The Albanian side, from the beginning of the work up

to the end of April 1961, had spent a sum of about 48 million leks for the building of the palace.

In October 1960, the chief representative of the Soviet side, Engineer T. M. Shtoll, went to the Soviet Union on the pretext of fetching all the designs of the work, as well as arranging for the dispatch of the materials and equipment. In fact Shtoll did not return to Albania and the designs and materials were not dispatched.

In these conditions, the executing State Building Enterprise "December 21" had many times asked the deputy chief of the Soviet side, Engineer N. Kniazev, to intervene in order to ensure the designs and the materials. His reply was that their arrival was expected daily.

In the face of such a situation as regards the work of building the Palace of Culture, the Construction Minister of the Albanian Government, Josif Pashko, in a letter addressed to the Soviet Ambassador in Tirana, J. V. Shikin, on April 11, pointed out:

"In connection with the shortcomings in the work of building the Palace of Culture, I have the honour to bring to your knowledge the following:

"From the end of December 1960 onward, the pace of the building work at the Palace of Culture, which is being built in Tirana with the help of the Soviet Union, has been slowed down and is not being carried out according to the plans which had been drawn up. This is due mainly to the lack of designs and of some materials. At the meetings held time and again at the palace, the Albanian engineers entrusted with the carrying out of the work have raised with the representative of the Soviet side at the project, Engineer Kniazev Nikolai Stepano-

vich, the above obstacles and have continually received from him promises for the quick arrival of the designs and materials. Towards the end of January this year, the Albanian engineers who are carrying out the project, considering that the schedule was being adversely affected due to the lack of designs and some materials, and as the specialist manpower and the installed machinery were not producing the planned productivity, reported to this Ministry to intervene so that the Soviet side should speed up the arrival of the designs and materials. For this purpose I personally called on the representative of the Soviet side, Engineer Kniazev Nikolai Stepanovich, at the project on February 5, 1961 and asked him to intervene for the speeding up of the arrival of the designs and some materials, lack of which hampered the work.

"During the month of February, owing to the lack of designs and some materials, the scope of work was further narrowed — the necessary designs still did not arrive. In this situation, on my instruction, the Deputy Minister of Construction, Engineer Kicho Gliozheni, on February 28, 1961, officially summoned to the Ministry Comrade Tukhtinov, GKES representative in Tirana, who was engaged in the construction of the Palace of Culture, in the presence also of Engineer Kniazev, representative of the Soviet side in the construction of the palace, asking them once more to intervene for the arrival of the designs. As we again failed to receive any reply after this call, on March 3, 1961, the representative of the GKES, Comrade Bekleshov, was once more officially summoned to the Ministry, where the Deputy Minister of Construction, Comrade Rahman Hanku, after describ-

ing to him the serious situation created at the project due to the lack of the designs and of some materials, asked him to intervene for their earliest possible dispatch, requesting that he should receive an answer within ten days. Comrade Bekleshov, who presented himself at this meeting as newly employed on the job and not yet acquainted by his men with the situation concerning the palace, promised Comrade Rahman Hanku that he would try to settle the questions put to him by responding in good time. However, even after this meeting hot only did the requested designs and materials fail to arrive, but we were not so much as given a reply. On March 23, 1961, by our letter No. 150 addressed to the GKES in Tirana on the part of this Ministry, we repeated once more our request for intervention for the arrival of the designs and materials, but this request, too, has remained to this day without any response.

"As I reported above, owing to the fact that the designs and materials failed to arrive, and especially owing to the lack of a full reply by the Soviet side, the executing enterprise was kept waiting for a long time with man-power and specialists, as well as machinery, that have been very little utilized.

"In such circumstances, I ordered a reduction of manpower and machinery and, if the arrival of the designs should drag on further, in order not to entirely suspend the work, in order not to leave this big project in the center of the Capital in the present condition, I shall take measures for its designing to be taken up by Albanian engineers, which, in accordance with the agreements approved by the Albanian Government and

by the Soviet Government, should have been carried out by the Soviet side in due time.

"Reporting the above, I request that you take immediate measures for the earliest possible arrival of the designs and materials in order to continue the work according to the schedule for the construction of the Palace of Culture, and on this occasion allow me, Comrade Ambassador, to express to you assurances of my high esteem."

The Soviet side not only did not reply to these urgent requests but, on April 13, 1961, when the Soviet ship "Vostok" arrived at the port of Durrës, bringing to Albania, in addition to other commodities, materials intended for the Palace of Culture, withdrew these materials under the pretext that they had been loaded by mistake and were not intended for Albania. The truth is that these materials were intended for the Palace of Culture according to the bill of loading No. 180, and in fact the destination was written on their packing. Besides, on April 26-27, 1961, the Soviet side unilaterally withdrew all the Soviet specialists working on the construction of the Palace of Culture. In the face of such a situation, when the construction work was suspended through the fault of the Soviet side and this big project in the center of the Capital remained with opened foundations heavily hurting the deep feelings of friendship of the Albanian people towards the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, on May 5, 1961, rightfully took the decision to finance the construction of the palace and ask our designing organizations to prepare the appropriate designs.

Only after three months and three days, on July 14, 1961, following the letter of the Construction Minister of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, there came as a reply the Soviet Government's aide memoire which gave no concrete facts except the date. It is not accidental that it does not provide any example, any fact from the development of the construction work or from the questions raised in the letter of our Construction Minister concerning the situation at the Palace of Culture for the year 1961. The Soviet Government's aide memoire said: "In the letter of the Construction Minister of the People's Republic of Albania, J. Pashko, dated April 11, 1961, a number of demands were put forward which showed that the Albanian side did not like to discuss in a sound manner the questions that had arisen in connection with the construction of the Palace of Culture as is customary in the relations between socialist countries".

Now that you have read the letter of the Construction Minister you can see clearly in what a slanderous manner the Soviet Government raises the question at N. Khrushchev's instigation, saying that our letter of April 11, 1961 "put forward a number of demands which showed that the Albanian side did not like to discuss the questions in a sound manner." The letter of our Minister expresses only one desire: to meet the necessary demands in order to normally continue the work in connection with the construction of the Palace of Culture.

The actions of the Soviet Government, such as the failure to send the materials and designs, the withdrawal of. the specialists and the silence of more than three months towards our answer, testify to the lack of desire

and to the violation of the agreement on the construction of the Palace of Culture on the part of the Soviet Government.

N. Khrushchev's hostile attitude in bringing all pressures to bear on the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people is also apparent in this incident. It is clearly revealed by the Soviet Government's aide memoire in which Khrushchev slanderously lays the blame on and attributes his malicious aims to others. The aide memoire says among other things:

"On May 5 of this year the Government of Albania took a decision in accordance with which it has undertaken the completion of all the work for the carrying out of the designing and construction of the Palace of Culture.

"Naturally, such a step of the Albanian Government cannot but cause justified surprise, for it allowed unilateral action towards the Soviet-Albanian agreement of July 3, 1959 on the construction of the Palace of Culture.

"Now it has become quite clear that on this occasion the Albanian Government has pursued entirely definite aims, which by no means contribute to the betterment of the relations between our countries. It is no secret that now in Albania the character of the Soviet Union's disinterested aid to the Albanian people, including its aid in the construction of the Palace of Culture, is being distorted in a more irresponsible manner."

These base fabrications do not merit comment. Such is the truth. Such are the facts. This was the confrontation of the facts with the slanders and fabrications. Now the question arises:

Who in fact utilized the humanitarian act, the gift, for "anti-Soviet propaganda?" Who is seeking to damage the traditional friendship between our peoples? Is it the Albanian Government, which was obliged to take measures in order to avert the shame and black stain which the Soviet Government drew on itself by earmarking the funds for the construction of the Palace of Culture at a time when these funds were not envisaged by the plan? Or is it the Soviet Government which, at N. Khrushchev's instigation, broke the promise made to the Albanian people, violated the agreement which it had itself signed, leaving the groundwork of the Palace of Culture like an uncovered grave in the center of the Capital?

Our people, and especially the people of the Capital, gave a just answer to this question, mobilizing all their forces to build the Palace of Culture themselves.

3. THE TRUTH ABOUT THE STUDENTS' ISSUE

Article published in the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit,* December 30, 1961

A. Mikoyan, in his statement at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, playing the role assigned to him, had the task of producing "theoretical arguments" to back up N. Khrushchev's calls for counter-revolution in Albania. His main argument was the question of the Albanian students and other Albanian citizens who were studying in the Soviet Union. He presented the case as follows:

"Some time ago, the naval students who were studying in our country returned to Albania. In conversations among themselves they asked themselves with surprise: What is the cause of this sudden aggravation of the relations between Albania and the Soviet Union? For this many of them were thrown into prison.

"The Albanian students who were studying in our country returned home to spend their vacations and afterwards many of them were not authorized by the Albanian authorities to continue their studies in the Soviet Union. Naturally, this created dissatisfaction, and many of the discontented suffered reprisals.

"The Albanian leaders persecute those wishing to preserve the friendship between our parties and peoples, while at the same time, in order to deceive the people, they organize Soviet-Albanian friendship month. This happened in September.

"They may say that these are their internal affairs and that we should not interfere in them. But we are here in face of persecutions and reprisals against the Albanians who defend the traditional friendship with the Soviet Union. And this concerns us directly. We cannot remain indifferent, and we are obliged to express our opinion".

Since the 22nd Congress certain Soviet propagandists and their supporters have continued to slander us on the question of the Albanian students who were studying in the Soviet Union.

* * *

As you see, A. Mikoyan was pretending alarm at "the imprisonment" of many naval students; he was pretend-

ing grief that many Albanian students "were not authorized" by the Albanian authorities to continue their studies in the Soviet Union; he was pretending horror at "the reprisals" which many "discontented" students had allegedly suffered; he was pretending to revolt at the "persecutions" which the Soviet Union's "friends" in Albania are suffering, which, according to him, were not an internal affair of the Party of Labour of Albania, of the People's Republic of Albania and of the Albanian people, but which directly concerned (we repeat the word "directly") N. Khrushchev's group. We cannot say that such an attitude, that such an opinion, is surprising because in the logic of N. Khrushchev's followers there is nothing surprising, nothing unexpected. To say that such an attitude, such a viewpoint, is loathsome, that it rests from beginning to end on slanders is saying nothing new, for in their activities slander is a usual practice. Therefore, let us call on facts and documents rather than epithets, to speak, to shed all the light on the truth, on the question of the Albanian students who were studying in the Soviet Union, to show who expelled them, who made provocations and blackmail against them, who closed the doors of the universities to them on the threshold of the new school-year.

During the 1961-1962 school-year, in accordance with the agreement concluded between the governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Albania on July 5, 1952, under the terms of which the Soviet Union was paying 60 per cent of the scholarship and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania 40 per cent, 1,213 citizens of the People's Republic of Albania

were regularly pursuing their studies in the Soviet Union.

During the 1961-1962 school-year, in accordance with the cultural cooperation programme signed in Moscow on February 8, 1961 between the two countries, another 100 young students were assigned and preparing to study in institutions of higher learning in the Soviet Union.

In August 1961, after having spent the summer vacation in Albania, the old students returned to the Soviet Union to continue their studies, while the new students were ready to leave for the USSR.

On August 26, however, only 4-5 days before the beginning of the courses for the 1961-1962 school-year, the Soviet Government, at N. Khrushchev's instigation, implementing the policy of pressure and blackmail towards the Party of Labour of Albania, the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people, the policy of blockade and isolation in many directions, went so far as to deprive the Albanian citizens of the right to pursue their studies at the universities and institutions of higher learning of the Soviet Union. Through a note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Soviet Government served notice on the Government of the People's Republic of Albania that "as of September 1, 1961 there extends to Albania the rule common to all the European socialist countries concerning the expense for education in the Soviet Union of the students and post-graduates under which the students' stipends are paid by the country that sends its own citizens to the Soviet Union to pursue their studies there".

This unilateral cancellation of the inter-governmental agreement of July 5, 1952 was aimed at making more difficult the training of cadres of the People's Republic

of Albania and, consequently, impairing the building of socialism in Albania. It was an unjust decision adopted by N. Khrushchev to wreak his revenge on the Party of Labour of Albania for having expressed, through inter-party channels, correct, Marxist-Leninist viewpoints on a whole number of ideological and political questions of the present-day world development and in particular of the international communist and workers' movement, viewpoints which did not fit in with his anti-Marxist and opportunist theses.

In the face of such a situation, when the Soviet Government arbitrarily changed the study conditions of the Albanian citizens in the Soviet Union, creating great difficulties to our country, suddenly, as we pointed out, only 4 to 5 days before the beginning of classes, the Albanian students were obliged to return to Albania.

For what reasons, or rather under what pretexts, did the Soviet Government, under N. Khrushchev's dictate, no longer allow the Albanian students to pursue their studies in the schools of the Soviet Union?

It is known that between the two governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Albania there was concluded in July 1952 an agreement on the education of the citizens of the People's Republic of Albania at the higher civil institutes of the Soviet Union, stipulating (Article 5):

> "The Government of the Soviet Union covers the expenses for the maintenance and study of the citizens of the People's Republic of Albania at the institutions of higher learning of the Soviet Union";

and (Article 6):

"The Government of the People's Republic of Albania reimburses the Government of the Soviet Union 40 per cent of the expenses mentioned in Article 5 of the present agreement".

This agreement was an expression of the fraternal internationalist aid which the Soviet Union was giving the People's Republic of Albania for the training of cadres needed for the development of our national economy and culture.

Later, on March 16, 1960, the Soviet Government demanded a modification of the agreement and the conclusion of a new one, on a basis and conditions different from those of the 1952 agreement.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, taking into account the fraternal relations and close cooperation between the two countries, the specific conditions of the People's Republic of Albania, the urgent needs for the training of cadres and the financial burden which would be incurred as a result of the change in the study conditions, instructed the Ambassador of the People's Republic of Albania in Moscow, Nesti Nase, to request, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, not to change the study conditions of the Albanian citizens in the Soviet Union. And on June 6, 1960, in response to the Albanian Government's request, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, N. P. Firyubin, verbally informed our Ambassador:

"The Soviet Government re-examined its proposal concerning the modification of the agreement on the conditions of the mutual training of students and postgraduates at the civil institutes of higher learning and

at the scientific research institutes, took into consideration the request of the Albanian side and decided that the conditions of the 1952 agreement remain in force."

Thus the problem was considered as settled and the question closed.

The Albanian Government, as always, appraised this just decision of the Soviet Government as a friendly act and precisely for this reason, as usual, during the 1960-1961 academic year there were sent to the institutions of higher learning of the Soviet Union a considerable number of Albanian students and post-graduates, who by August 1961 had completed their studies according to the above-mentioned conditions.

The Soviet Government, however, at N. Khrushchev's instigation, continuing the repressive measures against the People's Republic of Albania and with a view to creating for our country difficulties also in the training of cadres, went back on the official promise it had given to our Government on June 6, 1960. This is evident from the August 26, 1961 Soviet note which, raising again the question of the study conditions of the Albanian students at the schools of the Soviet Union and completely ignoring the June 6, 1960 official communication, says:

"As a result of the talks which took place between the governments of the USSR and other European socialist countries, with the exception of Albania, new agreements have been concluded on the basis set forth in the March 16, 1960 note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. Although almost one and a half years have elapsed from the time of the handing over of the note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the

USSR to the Albanian Embassy in Moscow, the Albanian Government has not thus far sent any written reply to the Soviet note".

Carefully note: The whole "fault" of the Albanian Government is that "it has not replied in a written form to the Soviet note". When did the verbal communication of our Ambassador to the Soviet Foreign Ministry and the June 6, 1960 verbal communication of the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister cease to be considered as official acts? N. Khrushchev's conception of the official value of the written and verbal communications is really interesting! He insisted on a "reply in written form" from our Government to his March 16, 1960 note, whereas he verbally informed our Government of an affair whose importance has no need to be emphasized, namely the closing by the Soviet Government of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana and the demand for the closing of the Embassy of the People's Republic of Albania in Moscow. When the Chargé d'Affaires of the People's Republic of Albania in Moscow asked N. P. Firyubin to give him in written form his communication for the withdrawal of the staff of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana and the departure of the staff of the Albanian Embassy in Moscow, N. P. Firyubin, on behalf of the Soviet Government, replied to him that any verbal or written communication of an official representative is considered as an official act. Therefore, it is not necessary that we should give it to you in written form. In other words, this is to say: "Don't do what I do but do what I say".

Therefore, one can easily see the entire falseness of the pretext under which the Soviet Government has

violated the 1952 inter-governmental agreement on the education of the citizens of the People's Republic of Albania in the Soviet Union.

Very significant also is the fact that on August 26, 1961, the same day when the Soviet Government announced its decision to cut off the stipends to the Albanian students studying in the Soviet Union (at issue is the 60 per cent of the stipend), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union sent to the Embassy of the People's Republic of Albania in Moscow a note which alleges:

> "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR continues to receive information that some Albanian students and auditors who are pursuing their studies at the institutions of higher learning of the Soviet Union are spreading various fabrications and slanders concerning Soviet-Albanian relations, and are also seeking to draw the Soviet and foreign students into provocative conversations".

It further continues:

> "Reporting on the instances of the unworthy behaviour of Albanian students studying in the Soviet Union, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR draws attention to the fact that their anti-Soviet views are, undoubtedly, of a premeditated nature".

The note concludes:

> "The Ministry has been authorized to declare that, in case of anti-Soviet attacks on the part of the Albanian students, the latter will be asked to leave the Soviet Union".

The authors of the note, N. Khrushchev's group, need these slanders and trumped-up instances to attain their vicious aim, to deprive our country of the possibility to train cadres in the schools of the Soviet Union. How low those who slander the Albanian students in such a way have fallen! For it is well known that the Albanian students' love and respect for the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have become one of the loftiest qualities of the character of the citizens of new Albania, and the Soviet teachers and students have witnessed the noble feelings of their Albanian comrades and students. Therefore, the claim that there have been anti-Soviet expressions on the part of the Albanian students is a slander and an offense intentionally committed by the Soviet side to discredit the Albanian students and to back up its unjust measures towards them.

If we consider the Soviet note, the question arises: Which one is lying, the note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that presents the Albanian students as "anti-Soviet", or A. Mikoyan, who at the 22nd Congress called the Albanian students "the friends" of the Soviet Union, who "suffered reprisals in Albania"? It is clear that in both cases we have to deal with fabrications aimed at justifying two evil aims against the People's Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania. In the first case, through the note of the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, the slander was needed to justify the departure of the Albanian students from the Soviet schools. In the second case, through Mikoyan's declaration, the slander was needed to "argue" the situation of "terror and uncertainty" allegedly existing in Albania, with a

view to implementing N. Khrushchev's call for counter-revolution and, on the other hand, to deceiving world public opinion about the real situation in our country.

According to A. Mikoyan and some other Soviet propagandists, "terror", "imprisonments", "murders and assassinations" reign in Albania; sailors, students, and "all the honest men and women who stand for friendship with the Soviet Union" have allegedly been imprisoned. In a word, the whole people have been imprisoned! These monstrous calumnies, which rightfully arouse a feeling of revolt and justified hatred against their authors, have disgusted our people before whose eyes the slanderers have become ridiculous and appeared like enemies in the same dock with the imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists, for they do not cause less evil, and they do not pose less danger with their calls for counter-revolution.

Their intention to create difficult situations, to create troubles, cannot be disguised by the veil of their "creative Marxism" which reeks of rank revisionism. The Albanian people, led by their Party, have gone through numerous tempests and have foiled many plots and intrigues; they are tempered and stronger than ever to frustrate the schemes of their enemies whatever the slogan under which they present themselves.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, and the entire Albanian people have appreciated and continue to appreciate the great internationalist aid which the Soviet Union, the CPSU and the Soviet Government have rendered to the People's Republic of Albania in the training of Albanian cadres in the Soviet

Union. Our sons and daughters who have studied at the institutions of higher learning of the Soviet Union, who have familiarized themselves with Soviet science and culture, which are the most advanced in the world, have brought to their country knowledge and the very precious experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the builders of communism in the Soviet Union. Educated by the Party of Labour of Albania, they have made and are making a great contribution to the strengthening of Albanian-Soviet friendship.

As to the question of the "imprisonment of many students" which has so much troubled N. Khrushchev and his followers that they have lost sleep over the issue, we can say that these students are in good health and are studying at the State University of Tirana and other institutes of higher learning at home or in the universities of fraternal socialist countries.

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV HAS MADE EFFORTS NOT TO SETTLE BUT TO AGGRAVATE THE DIFFERENCES WITH OUR PARTY AND STATE

Article published in the newspaper
Zëri i Popullit

March 25, 1962

Nearly six months have passed since Nikita Khrushchev publicly assaulted the Party of Labour of Albania. It has already become clear that this attack was actually directed against Marxism-Leninism and against the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist and labour movement. This was precisely the reason why, after the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communists and peoples of various countries as well as the Soviet people posed the questions: "Why was the Party of Labour of Albania attacked; why were the disputes existing within the international Communist and labour movement revealed; why were these disputes not patiently settled in the Marxist-Leninist way, and in whose interest was it?" Despite the resolutions taken, the speeches made and the many articles that have been and are being written to justify the attitude of the Soviet leadership towards the Party of Labour of Albania, neither at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union nor following it did the Nikita Khrushchev group succeed in exculpating themselves and giving an answer to these legitimate questions which are being asked by the people from all corners of the earth even today.

Notwithstanding, Nikita Khrushchev and his followers have endeavoured to find a way out in order to justify their anti-Marxist attitude towards the Party of Labour of Albania. To this end they invented the story that the Soviet leaders were compelled to do this (namely, to

publicly attack the Party of Labour of Albania*), their reason being that all the efforts to normalize the relations with the Party of Labour of Albania had failed to yield any results, and this being the case, open struggle against it was the only possible course to pursue. So then, "every effort had been made without yielding any results", and, "it was necessary to go over to open struggle, since it was the only way left". These are the two "arguments" that the Nikita Khrushchev group and their followers were able to advance and it is by such "arguments" which as we shall see further on are utterly false and without foundation, that they want "to fully justify" the unprincipled struggle based on the vilest calumnies, blockades of all kinds and fierce acts of pressure by the leaders of a big state against the Marxist Party of a numerically small people. It is by fabricated "arguments" of this kind that they are trying to justify such acts as their appeals for counter-revolution or the rupture of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania, a socialist country.

By acting in such a savage way against the Party of Labour of Albania and by advancing such "arguments" to justify their action, Nikita Khrushchev and his group, no doubt, reckon that people will believe them because the rights of the Party of Labour of Albania would fade into insignificance in the face of the indisputable authority of the glorious Soviet Union and of their great Party of Lenin. Such a concept is anti-Marxist, of course, but one cannot expect anything else from a revisionist of Marxism-Leninism. Nikita Khrushchev makes a

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* The annotation is ours — Ed.

mockery of and speculates with the prestige and authority of the Soviet Union. The peoples and communists of the world are recognizing better and better the true features of Nikita Khrushchev and of his group and they are becoming more and more convinced that Nikita Khrushchev's attack on the Party of Labour of Albania, his appeals for a counter-revolution in Albania and the rupture of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania are acts that cannot be justified with any fabricated "argument", not even with the authority enjoyed by the Soviet Union and its Communist Party. Such anti-Marxist actions befit only those who have betrayed the cause of socialism and of communism. The peoples and communists of the world by this time are beginning to understand and will understand more clearly that Nikita Khrushchev and his group are acting as splitters of the international communist and labour movement, as incorrigible opportunists and revisionists and by their actions are helping only the foes of socialism and of communism.

PRIOR TO THE BUCHAREST MEETING, OUR DIFFERENCES ON SOME IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS NEVER TARNISHED THE FRATERNAL RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO PARTIES

Because the Nikita Khrushchev group are speculating with the so-called "efforts" which have allegedly been made by them towards normalizing relations with the Party of Labour of Albania, we would like to dwell

on the following question: The "efforts" on the part of Nikita Khrushchev towards normalizing relations with the Party of Labour of Albania or, to state it more clearly, the methods chosen by him of settling the ideological disputes that arose between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Soviet leaders, the method of extending these disputes also to the field of state relations by acts of economic, political and military pressure, by threats and blockades, by imposing his own views on the Party of Labour of Albania and on the Albanian State, led to the aggravation of relations and their sharpening, reaching the apex with the public attacks levelled against the Party of Labour of Albania from the forum of the 22nd Congress and to the actual rupture of the diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania by the Soviet Union.

The starting point in the attitude of the Nikita Khrushchev group towards the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania that led to the aggravation of Soviet-Albanian relations was the meeting held in Bucharest in June, 1960. Prior to the Bucharest Conference, between our two parties and countries there existed cordial fraternal relations which may rightly be characterized as exemplary in relationships of proletarian internationalism. Up to that time the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Government of the Soviet Union had assumed a friendly and internationalist attitude towards our country and extended to Albania great assistance in all the fields of socialist construction, for which help the Party of Labour and the entire Albanian people have been and will eternally be grateful to the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet

Union and to the brotherly Soviet people. The Party of Labour has always appreciated and rightly assessed the importance of that internationalist assistance. "The experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union as well as its extraordinary assistance," Comrade Enver Hoxha said in his speech of November 28, 1959, at the solemn gathering held on the occasion of the 15th Anniversary of Liberation Day, "have been and are for us two important sources which to this day have helped us to carry out the tasks of great transformation in the fields of economy and of culture." That is why our people have always strengthened and will continue to strengthen their affection and their great and sincere friendship for the great fatherland of the October Revolution and for the country of the Soviets... Our friendship is a friendship of peoples, a friendship based on the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism and on proletarian internationalism, on the lofty and noble ideals of the triumph of socialism and of the defense of world peace and that is why this friendship will live on throughout the centuries.

And it should be emphasized that our fraternal ties had at no time been weakened despite the fact that between our Party and the Soviet leadership, headed by Nikita Khrushchev, differences on certain important issues had existed for a long time. It is a known fact, for example, that our Party does not agree with the criticism against Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, nor with the manner in which it was made, nor with the aims which Nikita Khrushchev and his group pursued at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and later; the Party of Labour of Albania was not in agreement

with the attitude of appeasement and of opportunism that was being assumed by Nikita Khrushchev and by his group towards the revisionist Tito clique; our Party did not reconcile itself to the course he introduced and to the opportunist aims which he pursued in regard to the questions of peace and war; it did not reconcile itself to his revisionist conception in connection with the peaceful and non-peaceful transition to socialism and in regard to other issues. On the other hand, it is known that Nikita Khrushchev, more than once and on different occasions, has directly or indirectly expressed himself against the line of our Party on account of its attitude of principle towards the Yugoslav revisionists and on other issues. He has tried to exert pressure on our Party so that it might stop its just criticisms of principle against the Belgrade revisionists and rehabilitate such traitors and enemies of the Party and of the Albanian people as Koçi Xoxe, Panajot Plaku and others like them. All these facts are borne out by documentary evidence. Notwithstanding this, the Party of Labour has constantly striven for the settlement of these disputes in the just Marxist-Leninist way, by means of comradely discussions and criticism, by repudiating at the same time Nikita Khrushchev's proposals in regard to the question of the Yugoslav revisionists and the rehabilitation of the Albanian traitors in the service of the Tito clique. It is a fact that despite the existence of the aforementioned differences, up to the middle of the year 1960 the relations of the Party of Labour with the Soviet leadership and, especially, state relationships between our two countries, had not been rendered acute, but on the con-

trary they were proceeding in the normal course of friendly, fraternal and internationalist cooperation

But during that period Nikita Khrushchev found out that the Party of Labour of Albania stood strongly by its positions of principle and would not make any concessions; he ascertained that our Party was unwilling to proceed in his revisionist course. He became still more convinced about this at the meeting in Bucharest in which our Party strongly opposed the anti-Marxist methods employed by him of striking suddenly at the Marxist-Leninist parties. That is why in Bucharest Nikita Khrushchev made up his mind and struck the first blow at the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership.

It is well known that at the Bucharest meeting in June, 1960, and later at the Moscow Conference of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1960, the Party of Labour of Albania expressed its own views on certain problems of present-day world development and of the tactics and strategy of the international communist and workers' movement, and it criticized certain opportunist views on the part of Nikita Khrushchev as well as some of his anti-Marxist positions regarding the relations between the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, in order to uphold the relations of equality and reach unanimity of views and actions through comradely criticism and consultations between them in a Marxist-Leninist way and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. While the Party of Labour of Albania displayed calmness and spoke about the right course that should have been pursued for the settling of disputes, which, as it was revealed at the Bucharest Conference, existed not only with the Albanian Party of Labour, but also

with other parties, Nikita Khrushchev, on the contrary, since that time, proceeded along the erroneous anti-Marxist path. Towards the just criticism of the Party of Labour of Albania he adopted the method which is alien to Communists and to Marxist-Leninist parties, namely, the method of reprisal, by replacing comradely criticism with brutal interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, by openly and brutally violating the principle of consultation, of equality and of proletarian internationalism that should govern relationships between the Communist parties of the socialist countries.

Immediately after the meeting at Bucharest, particularly following the Moscow Conference of November 1960, the so-called "efforts" on the part of Nikita Khrushchev to normalize the relations with the Party of Labour of Albania became still clearer; the credits that had been granted to the People's Republic of Albania for its five-year plan were suspended, the Soviet specialists who were working in Albania were recalled and all the Albanian students attending schools in the Soviet Union were chased out. Nikita Khrushchev's "efforts" which are being so widely popularized by his propaganda agents bear resemblance to actions of that "host" who, after having tightly locked the door of his house, unleashes his dogs and tells the guest: "Come right in. Welcome." This "effort" and "sincere desire" is made clear in the article published by the editorial board of the newspaper *Pravda* on February 21, 1962, under the heading "The Banner of Our Epoch" in which among other things one reads: "This criticism (reference is here made to Nikita Khrushchev's attack on the Party of Labour of Albania

from the forum of the 22nd Congress)* appealed to the good sense of the Albanian leaders and was intended to bring them back to the positions of proletarian internationalism." How hypocritical this is! According to the editorial board of *Pravda,* Nikita Khrushchev's attack was comradely "criticism" which appealed to the good sense of the Albanian leaders! The appeals for counter-revolution, for the overthrow of the leaders of a Marxist party of a socialist country had as their object the restoration of the Albanian leaders to positions of proletarian internationalism (!) (This is what Khrushchev said at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: "Nevertheless we are convinced that the time will come when the Albanian Communists and the Albanian people will have their own say and the Albanian leaders will be brought to account for the damage they have caused to their country, to their people and to the cause of the construction of socialism in Albania.") This shows the degree of cynicism of the Nikita Khrushchev group who, by shedding crocodile tears over the "destinies" of the Albanian people, remind one of the man who kills you in the darkness of night and weeps for you the next day.

In order to dispel any illusion about the "efforts" which Nikita Khrushchev has allegedly made to normalize the relations with the Party of Labour of Albania we refer you to the correspondence exchanged between our two Parties and to the chief events following the Bucharest meeting. The numerous facts and documents in the possession of our Party, some of which we are going to

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* The annotation is ours — Ed.

utilize in this article, most convincingly demonstrate that Nikita Khrushchev, in his efforts at allegedly settling the disputes with the Party of Labour of Albania, has always aimed at bringing our Party to its knees, to dictate to it from *à priori,* unacceptable anti-Marxist terms and to place it in positions of inequality and of discrimination.

It is known that at the meeting in Bucharest Nikita Khrushchev, in an unexpected but premeditated way, attacked the unity of the international communist and labour movement. Violating the Leninist principles of consultation, of equality and of proletarian internationalism in the relations between fraternal parties, and using arrogant methods from a patriarchal position, he tried to compel other parties to submit to his erroneous anti-Marxist views and actions. Nikita Khrushchev tried by every means to get the Delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania at the Bucharest meeting also to endorse his actions and his opportunist and splitting views. The Party of Labour, however, assumed an unwavering attitude of principle. It condemned the anti-Marxist declarations and attitude of Nikita Khrushchev and made known its own views on the right course that should have been pursued for settling the disputes that had arisen within the socialist camp and the international communist movement. At that meeting the head of the Delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Hysni Kapo, said among other things:

> "...This most important question, which Comrade Nikita Khrushchev has suddenly brought up without preliminary study, must be thoroughly studied and

discussed most carefully, calmly and in a comradely spirit, according to Leninist rules and in the Marxist-Leninist way, as is the practice of our Parties."

This was the attitude of the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania at Bucharest. The Central Committee, through its representative, condemned the putschist method of Nikita Khrushchev and upheld the view of settling disputes according to Leninist rules at the meeting of November, 1960. Nikita Khrushchev was displeased at the attitude of principle of the delegation of our Party, which was contrary to his anti-Marxist views and course of undermining the unity of the socialist camp. He was so greatly irritated by the correct criticism through Party channels made by a small Party that he did not hesitate to characterize it as "an insult" to the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for which "insult" he started a campaign of acts of vengeance against our Party and country which had with Marxist courage dared to bar the way of splitting the socialist camp, undertaken most consciously by Nikita Khrushchev.

PRESSURE AND EFFORTS TO DRAW THE PLA INTO N. KHRUSHCHEV'S PLOT AGAINST THE UNITY OF THE SOCIALIST CAMP AND THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

A radical change was noted in the attitude of the Soviet leaders headed by N. Khrushchev towards the Party of Labour of Albania and our country immediately after

the Bucharest Meeting. Their stand and policy towards the Party of Labour of Albania proceeded not from their desire to settle the dispute that had arisen but from their desire to subdue it by all methods and means and to take revenge upon its leaders for their persistent stand. From words he went on to actions. N. Khrushchev responded negatively and even delayed his negative reply to the urgent request of the Albanian Government to buy from the Soviet Union a quantity of wheat at a time when our country was hard up for bread on account of the drought of 1960. This compelled our Party and Government to secure the required grain from other socialist countries. This constituted open pressure against the PLA.

On the other hand, the functionaries of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, carrying out N. Khrushchev's instructions with regard to their radical change of policy towards Albania, launched a feverish attack on the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party of Labour of Albania, tried to split our Party and create panic and confusion among its ranks, to separate the leaders from the Party and to incite against them the army cadres and other cadres who had studied in the Soviet Union. All these "efforts", this pressure, these brutal interventions aimed at making the Party of Labour of Albania back down from the stand of principle which it maintained at the Bucharest Meeting and compel it to support N. Khrushchev's opportunist and splitting views in the November meeting and join him in his assaults against the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement, against the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

In pursuance of this aim N. Khrushchev sent on August 13, 1960, a letter to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania which demanded that talks be held, not for the purpose of settling the existing differences between the PLA and the Soviet leaders, but for the purpose of aligning the Party of Labour of Albania with N. Khrushchev's group against a third party, in order to split the socialist camp. The letter suggested:

> "We consider it important that the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should go to the coming November Meeting with complete unity of viewpoints.
>
> The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is of the opinion that it is advisable that a meeting should be called of the representatives of our Parties for this purpose prior to the November Meeting."

And in a sort of casual way a threatening warning is issued:

> "So that the spark of misunderstanding which has arisen may be extinguished in such a manner that it may not flare up again."

This meant that the Party of Labour of Albania should go to the 1960 November Meeting in Moscow "at one" with N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist views, that the Party of Labour of Albania should renounce its correct stand of principle which it had maintained at the Bucharest Meeting but which did not please N. Khrushchev. The proposed meeting should serve this end. This was, so to speak, N. Khrushchev's "first earnest 'effort' " to settle

the existing differences, to place the relations with the Party of Labour of Albania on a normal basis. And if the Party of Labour of Albania did not comply with this solution (that is, if it refused to submit), then the "spark" lit in Bucharest would "flare up into a fire". Is it not clear, therefore, that the "fire" which flared up at the 22nd Congress had been foreseen and deliberately prepared as far back as August 1960? Does it not follow that what N. Khrushchev's group meant by the word "efforts" to settle the dispute with the PLA was: either submit or be subjected to the "fire"?

In its letter dated August 27, 1960 the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania gave the appropriate reply to this ill-boding attempt. After pointing out that the misunderstandings which arose at the Bucharest Meeting were a result of N. Khrushchev's unwarranted attacks against a third party and, as a consequence "to go to the coming Meeting in full unity of viewpoints" means that our two Parties coordinate their attitudes towards a third Marxist-Leninist Party, the letter emphasizes:

> "Marxism-Leninism teaches us, likewise, that it would be a gross violation of the rudimentary Marxist-Leninist norms which govern the relations between Communist and Workers' Parties if it came about that two parties carried on talks whose object would be to criticise the general line of another Marxist Party ... It goes without saying that an act of this kind would be unjust, would not help the cause but harm it."

It was natural for the Party of Labour of Albania to refuse to take part in a meeting of the kind which was

contrary to the most elementary rules of Marxism-Leninism and which would yield no results despite N. Khrushchev's threats.

Let us dwell a little longer on N. Khrushchev's "efforts" to talk with the leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania for the purpose of settling the dispute, of restoring Soviet-Albanian relations to their normal state: On November 9, 1960, at the time of the Moscow Meeting of the 81 Parties, the Soviet leaders proposed that Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania heading the Delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania at the Meeting of the 81 Parties in Moscow, meet the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. Khrushchev, for bilateral talks concerning the relations between our two Parties. Comrade Enver Hoxha accepted this invitation with pleasure and was getting ready to meet N. Khrushchev. But just as Comrade Hoxha was about to set out for this appointment our delegation was handed an important official document from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which was being distributed to all the Parties participating in the Moscow Meeting, in which the existence of the People's Republic of Albania as a socialist country was totally ignored, the Party of Labour of Albania was slandered, the anti-Party elements in our country were taken under patronage and the leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania were accused of solving party problems contrary to the rules of democratic centralism and of carrying on anti-Soviet policies and activities. The Soviet leaders publicized these slanderous statements against the Party of Labour of Albania to the

entire world communist movement without first telling them to our Party. It is evident that the Soviet leaders, on the one hand, invited the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA for discussions and on the other, they distributed at the same time material filled with slanders against our Party for the obvious purpose of discrediting it. Under such circumstances, can it be said that the Soviet leaders are "eager" to settle the dispute? Can it be said that N. Khrushchev is "eager" to carry on discussions? N. Khrushchev pretends he wants discussions but in reality he forestalls them and limits them with *à priori* conditions. "Admit the slanders that I have made public to the entire communist movement and then let us come to terms!": such are indeed N. Khrushchev's and his group's earnest "efforts" to come to terms with the Party of Labour of Albania. Is this not an insidious, arrogant, derogatory and discriminating stand? Is this anything short of an ultimatum: either submit or face the "fire"? A stand of this kind has nothing in common with Marxist-Leninist methods of approach to discussions, with relations of equality, of brotherhood, of internationalist solidarity which should exist between fraternal parties. It is the foolhardy attitude of a boss, of a chauvinist of a big state bullying a small Party. It is logical that under these humiliating conditions we should rightfully reject with disdain this proposition for a meeting.

Yet, despite all that, proceeding as always from the desire to settle the dispute and harmonize the relations between our two Parties and our two countries, and in the interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, on receiving new proposals from

the Soviet leaders, the Delegation of the PLA participating in the Moscow Meeting, agreed to hold discussions with leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on November 10 and 11, 1960, and on November 12, 1960 the entire Delegation headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha met N. Khrushchev and a group of Soviet leaders. From the beginning to the end of these meetings it was clear that the aim of the Soviet leaders was not to find means and methods of settling our differences but to subjugate the PLA, to compel it by force to adopt the views of N. Khrushchev's group, to make it give up its Marxist-Leninist principles. The Soviet leaders did not retract the slanders contained in the official document they distributed to the representatives of the 81 Parties, they considered the pressure towards our Party and the subversive activity of the officials of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana as trivial, and finally N. Khrushchev went so far as to declare that he could come to terms with Macmillan more easily than with the leaders of the PLA. That he can come to terms with Macmillan, Eisenhower, Kennedy and their lackey, Tito, by making compromises; concessions and flattery is a personal credit to him which no one envies. But to compel the Party of Labour of Albania to adopt his revisionist ways — that has never happened and can never happen. Therefore nothing came of the "talks" and N. Khrushchev and his companions are to blame for that. This was N. Khrushchev's "second earnest 'effort' " to settle the dispute and harmonize the relations between our Parties, but in reality it was his second earnest effort to alienate cur Party from Marxism-Leninism and to subject it to his chauvinist dictates.

N. Khrushchev followed this failure with threats. This was, of course, to be expected. He stated cynically that from then on he would build his relations with Albania on another basis. No sooner said than done. He followed his words with deeds. Ideological differences were hurriedly extended into the field of relations between states. All credits were suspended, all Soviet experts working in Albania were unexpectedly and unilaterally withdrawn, commercial and military agreements were declared null and void.

The Central Committee of the PLA tried its best to preserve the good state relations between our two countries, but N. Khrushchev and his group tried their utmost to undermine everything. Facts and documents are not lacking to prove this. Thus our Economic Delegation headed by Xhafer Spahiu, the Minister of Industry, which had been sent to Moscow to conclude a clearing agreement for the 1961-1965 period and to sign the agreement on the credits which the Soviet Union had granted to Albania to mechanize agriculture, was obliged to extend its sojourn there in vain for 64 days. At the time when the meeting of the 81 Parties was holding its sessions and our two Parties were holding meetings, the Soviet organs of the Ministry for Foreign Trade and of the GKES (State Committee for Economic Relations), following N. Khrushchev's example and instigation, laid all kinds of obstacles in the way of our Economic Delegation, delayed their meetings, "waiting for instructions from above" etc. till I. Semichastny, Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade of the USSR, in conference with members of our Delegation finally declared:

"The Ministry of Foreign Trade is authorized to state to the Albanian Delegation that it is advisable to return later to the question of signing the long-term 1961-1965 Trade Agreement and the Agreement of credits accorded to Albania since it is necessary to discuss these matters on a higher level."

And when the People's Republic of Albania was about to send to Moscow Comrade Koço Theodhosi, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania and Candidate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, to head the Economic Delegation and to conclude the Agreements, the Soviet Government notified us through the Soviet Embassy in Tirana on January 6, 1961 that it did not concur with the proposal of the Albanian Government and stated that economic questions "could be discussed only at top-level conferences between our two Parties and Governments". Practically, this meant that the Soviet Government directly connected the discussion of economic questions and the signing of agreements with its attempts to impose on our Party the views of N. Khrushchev's group.

This becomes even clearer if we take into account the fact that these matters had been already discussed in Moscow in December 1958 between the representatives of the Parties and Governments of both our countries and at top-level talks and the agreements had been signed on April 3 and July 3, 1959 respectively. Thus, it is clear that the Soviet leaders were making use of the question of economic assistance as a means of putting pressure on the Party of Labour of Albania on the eve of its

fourth Congress which was held in February 1961, to compel it to give up its Marxist-Leninist views. This apparently was N. Khrushchev's "third earnest 'effort' " to settle differences and to restore the relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and with the People's Republic of Albania to their normal state.

In its letter dated January 14, 1961, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania explained once again, in a reasonable and patient manner, how things stood in reality and expressed its readiness to solve the misunderstandings in a just, Marxist-Leninist way. The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania stressed, among other things:

> "We cannot but express our surprise at the recent decisions taken by the Soviet Government on these matters and we cannot understand on what grounds it can one-sidedly request a re-examination the above-mentioned matters, discussed and settled and duly concluded at top-level conferences of the Parties and Governments of the two countries . . . The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government have considered and will always consider it a pleasure that top-level or any-other-level delegations of our two Parties and our two Governments should meet, for our Party, our people and our country are bound by ties of eternal friendship with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the Soviet people and with the Soviet Union; but, under the conditions set forth by the Soviet Government, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania does not deem it advisable and

proper to send a top-level delegation: firstly, because as stated above, the matters in question have been discussed and settled definitively by both parties in complete agreement and on the highest level; and secondly, because the Soviet Government raises these questions in a wrong manner, contrary to the spirit of relations between socialist countries, therefore inacceptable to us."

It eventually became clear that the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania had made a correct assessment of N. Khrushchev's aims, of his plans to subjugate our Party through economic pressure, to make economic assistance depend on approval of N. Khrushchev's opportunist line. It was clear that the Soviet leading group had no intention of carrying on talks to settle the economic problems under discussion but intended to dictate to our Party the conditions of surrender. This is well understood from the letter of the Soviet Government dated April 26, 1961 and signed by First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, A. Kosigin, addressed to the Albanian Government, which states among other things:

"Having weighed all the circumstances, the Soviet Government is compelled to re-examine the question of future relations with the People's Republic of Albania. The Soviet people as well as the peoples of the other socialist countries would not understand us if, by depriving our country of its material resources, we would continue to fulfil the requests of the Albanian leaders who, contrary to the interests of the Albanian people, trample upon elementary norms in

their relations with the Soviet Union and its Government ... It is evident that the Albanian leaders cannot hope any further that the Soviet Union will assist them on the former basis, with aid which only real friends and brothers are entitled to. Henceforth the Soviet Union considers it necessary to build its relations with Albania on a new basis, considering the unfriendly policy which its leaders pursue towards the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries ... As far as the future relations between our two countries and the aid of the Soviet Union to Albania are concerned, they will fully depend on what attitude the Albanian side will maintain . . ."

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS MADE EARNEST EFFORTS TO SETTLE THE DIFFERENCES WITH THE SOVIET LEADERS IN A MARXIST-LENINIST WAY

Whoever has followed with interest the development of Albanian-Soviet relations, even through the fragmentary quotations of the correspondence exchanged between our two parties published here, will note that since the June 1960 Bucharest Meeting, N. Khrushchev's group have merely tried to subjugate the Party of Labour of Albania and to impose their ideas upon it. The Soviet leaders have laid *à priori* conditions, have made threats to our Party in every letter and in every "earnest effort" to improve their relations with the PLA. This is

clearly seen in the quotation which we have just cited from their letter dated April 26, 1961.

The Central Committee of the PLA and the Albanian Government have, on the contrary, shown patience and coolness in order to forestall any premeditated measures which N. Khrushchev and his followers may initiate. This is also evident in the letter of reply which the Central Committee of the PLA sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government on July 6, 1961. In this letter the Central Committee of our Party states its views on the ways to be pursued in order to settle the differences existing between our two parties in conformity with the actual objective situation that had been created at the time.

"Of course," the letter of reply of the Central Committee of the PLA says, "we know that the settlement of these misunderstandings requires time, mutual patience and great efforts, so that necessary conditions may be created in order to do away with the negative phenomena which have appeared in the friendly, fraternal and, we can most undoubtedly say, more than exemplary relations which formerly existed between our two Parties, our two countries and our two fraternal peoples. The first thing to do in this direction is to discontinue the practice of extending the ideological misunderstandings existing between our two Parties into the field of state relations, economic, political and military.

"Our Party and our Government have never refused to carry on bilateral talks on any questions. But we have insisted and continue to insist that the necessary conditions, conditions of equality for both parties, should be

created for such talks." The Soviet leaders, however, with N. Khrushchev at the head, pursued the dangerous practice of placing the Party of Labour of Albania in a position of inequality, of humiliation and discrimination; they finally closed all paths for talks and settlement of differences by their letter of August 24, 1961, to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. In this letter N. Khrushchev and his group embarked on the road to mean provocations and subversion. N. Khrushchev and his group diverted the issue of the differences between our two Parties onto another level, to that of police-agency, going so far as to call the leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania "agents of foreign intelligence". This letter is in fact a prelude to what took place at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union when N. Khrushchev made public to all our common foes the divergences in the socialist camp and in the international communist and workers' movement.

This was N. Khrushchev's "fourth earnest effort" to settle the differences with the PLA, efforts which were later substantiated at the 22nd Congress by his call for a counter-revolution in Albania. Thus, N. Khrushchev deliberately aggravated the relations to the utmost, leaving no leeway for discussions. Despite that, the Central Committee of the PLA, ignoring N. Khrushchev's provocations and monstrous slanders, conscious of the great damage which N. Khrushchev's doings were causing to the communist movement in general and to the socialist camp and to the friendship between the Albanian and Soviet peoples in particular, appealed to the Central Committee of the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union again to "examine the situation created with coolness". In the letter of reply approved on October 12, 1961 by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania which was addressed to the CPSU's Central Committee to be elected at its 22nd Congress (the letter was handed to the Soviet Embassy in Tirana on November 11, 1961) we wrote:

> "Greatly disturbed by the undesirable and very critical situation of the present Albanian-Soviet relations originating in the brutal anti-Marxist acts of N. Khrushchev and his group, the Party of Labour of Albania appeals to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to examine the situation created with coolness and take necessary measures to restore it to normalcy . . . The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that the remedying of this dangerous disease requires the urgent intervention of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in which the Party of Labour of Albania has had and continues to have abiding confidence."

In his speech on November 7, 1961 Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized in the same spirit:

> "With full serenity and with a clear conscience the Party of Labour of Albania appeals to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, appeals to its newly-elected Central Committee, to consider with Leninist justice, objectively and serenely and pass unbiased judgment on the situation created between our two Parties and

our two countries. For the sake of the unity of the communist movement and the socialist camp, for the sake of the interests of our countries, our Party has always been willing to settle the existing differences. But it has always held and continues to hold the view that these matters should be settled correctly, only in a Marxist-Leninist way under conditions of equality and not those of imposition and dictation. We place our hope and trust in the justice of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

If the cause of the unity of the international communist movement and of the socialist camp were dear to N. Khrushchev and his group, if they were guided by the desire to settle these differences and not to aggravate relations beyond repair, if logic and not the unbridled whim of one who insists on having his way existed, then reason would prevail. They say that the dumbest deaf-mute is the one who is unwilling to listen. And so it actually happened: they not only ignored the wise and earnest appeal which the Party of Labour of Albania made regardless of what was said at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but they went further and very far indeed in committing the unparalleled act of breaking diplomatic relations, an act only befitting one who says: "I am the boss, I do what I please, I care for nobody else's opinion." The unfortunate thing about this is that this "I" is today at the head of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and at the head of the Soviet Government, and that his revisionist views and acts cause great damage to the

communist movement as a whole, to the socialist camp and to humanity at large.

The numerous facts of N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist attitude towards our Party and our country show clearly that his acts are deliberately directed against the PLA and the Albanian people, against Albanian-Soviet amity. But despite their relentless assaults and anti-Marxist acts N. Khrushchev and his group have been unable to shake the solid basis of the sacred friendship of our country with the glorious Soviet Union. In spite of his unbridled assaults, our Party has always maintained a just stand of principle towards our friendship with the Soviet Union. Whereas formerly the columns of the Soviet press maintained complete silence about the achievements of our people in socialist construction — as if the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people ceased to exist on the face of the globe, now they are filled with assaults and commonplace slanders against our Party and our country (about 150 different articles assailing the Party of Labour of Albania have been published in the principal organs of Soviet propaganda since the 22nd Congress), the PLA press writes continuously about the achievements of the fraternal Soviet people in their construction of communism. The 4th Congress of the PLA was another clear proof that the line of our Party towards Albanian-Soviet friendship has been kept unaltered and has been based always on principle. "Friendship with the Soviet Union," the Resolution of the 4th Congress of the PLA stresses, "has been, is and will always be the corner-stone of our foreign policy. It has been forged by our heroic Party in the thick of the struggle for freedom, socialism and peace; it is based

on the Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism. The friendship with the Soviet Union will grow ever stronger. There is no force in the world able to harm it. Just as our people have in the Soviet people and in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union their staunchest friend, so can the Soviet people count on the Party of Labour and the people of Albania as their loyal friend." In the days to come, too, our Party will safeguard the friendship of our people with the fraternal Soviet people as a precious treasure and will do its utmost to strengthen it. It is our honest conviction that Albanian-Soviet friendship will always triumph over the anti-Albanian activity of N. Khrushchev and his men.

N. KHRUSHCHEV'S ANTI-MARXIST ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PLA IS A DIRECT CONSEQUENCE OF HIS DEPARTURE FROM MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY

Facts point out that all of N. Khrushchev's "efforts" with regard to the PLA have been and continue to be directed not towards settling the differences but towards aggravating Albanian-Soviet relations. Since the Bucharest Meeting N. Khrushchev and his group have made systematic and increasingly persistent efforts **at first** to make our Party toe his opportunist line, to agree with his anti-Marxist stand and with his attempts to split the socialist camp; **then** to reduce it to silence concerning N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist views and doings; and **later**, to compel the PLA, through pressures of all kinds, to yield and **finally**, to eliminate and, if that is impossible, at

least to isolate it. Each phase has its own means and method of approach and N. Khrushchev and his group have lots of them in store for use in order to force their own will on others. The methods which N. Khrushchev used and continues to use against the Party of Labour of Albania are an inevitable consequence of his departure from Marxist-Leninist theory; they are the other side of the coin which illustrates his true opportunist and anti-Marxist features.

N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist stand towards the PLA is not at all something fortuitous and isolated. It constitutes only **one of the links** in the chain of his acts against the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement, which he tries to draw on to his road of out-and-out opportunism and revisionism, of unprincipled concessions to imperialism, on to the perilous road of bourgeois pacifism. Through his views and acts he has created great confusion in the ranks of some Communist and Workers' Parties, a thing that cannot but weaken their positions, that discredits and compromises them. In order to attain his anti-Marxist ends N. Khrushchev takes no account of consequences but deliberately goes on committing grave crimes that incur colossal losses to the entire communist movement of the world, to the great cause of socialism and communism. He is in fact splitting the socialist camp and the international communist movement. Are N. Khrushchev's unparalleled acts against the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania not a clear enough proof of this? One must be deprived of all reason to say that such acts of N. Khrushchev and his group as their pressures and economic and political blockades against a so-

cialist country like Albania, which acts went so far as to result in actual rupture of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania, serve to "consolidate the unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement"! But, is it only against the PLA that Khrushchev adopts such an anti-Marxist attitude? Not at all. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist group has indeed committed numerous acts of blackmail against the PLA. But is it only against our Party that he commits these acts and carries on his blackmail in the lobbies and behind the scenes?

N. Khrushchev and his anti-Marxist group are every day going farther and farther down the dangerous road. They are preparing new and more serious crimes against the socialist camp and the communist movement. Our Party, as well as Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, is fully aware of and deeply concerned about the serious peril which, brought about by the anti-Marxist views and activities of N. Khrushchev's revisionist group, is threatening the cause of socialism and communism. Maintaining full responsibility before the Albanian people and international communism, the PLA deems it its lofty duty to carry on by all the means and possibilities within its reach, a relentless war of principle to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the solidarity of the socialist camp by Marxist-Leninist methods, and by Marxist-Leninist methods alone. It is only through a determined war of principle that Marxism-Leninism can be safeguarded and protected from N. Khrushchev's revisionist attacks, only in this manner can the Moscow Declaration of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties be defended, which N. Khrushchev's adherents are now scornfully calling a document "of limited clauses" which

"cannot have the desired universal validity" (in other words: "a document of compromise of no value" as N. Khrushchev labelled it in its draft form in October, 1960), only in this way can the unity of the socialist camp, which N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist group is trampling under foot and seriously damaging, be maintained.

N. Khrushchev and his propagandists are trying in vain to reproach our Party in a slanderous way with anti-Soviet tendencies. Our Party does not confuse N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist group with the glorious Soviet Union and with the fraternal Soviet people. To be friendly towards the Soviet Union and loyal to it does not mean to shut your eyes and follow blindly in the anti-Marxist footsteps of N. Khrushchev even when those footsteps lead to perdition and cause great damage to the communist movement, to the socialist camp and to the interests and prestige of the Soviet Union itself. By combating N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist views and doings, the PLA fights to safeguard Albanian-Soviet friendship. "A friend in need is a friend indeed," as a popular Albanian saying goes. Our Party and our people have given tangible proof, not only in words but in deeds as well, that they are staunch friends of the Soviet Union and of the fraternal Soviet people, that they have stood and will continue to stand firmly by the Soviet Union at every moment and under all circumstances, in days of joy and of sorrow. This has been, is and will always be our unwavering stand.

N. Khrushchev's propagandists are now trying to justify the attacks made at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all the subse-

quent acts of the present Soviet leaders against the Party of Labour of Albania. But that is useless, for it is not a question of justifications but one of response; for people and communists throughout the world want to see justice done, want to know: "Why is the PLA so ruthlessly attacked, why does Khrushchev cause dissension in the socialist camp and to whose advantage is all this?" Instead of empty words of justification, N. Khrushchev's group should muster enough communist courage and bravery, which only Marxist-Leninists possess, to fully admit and publicly condemn the anti-Marxist acts against the PLA, against the international communist and workers' movement, against the socialist camp, against the great cause of socialism and communism.

KHRUSHCHEV AGAIN IN THE ROLE OF A DEMAGOGUE, A SLANDERER AND A SOWER OF DISSENSION

Article published in the newspaper
Zëri i Popullit

April 18, 1963

On March 30 of the current year the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dispatched a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which was published in the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit* on April 17, 1963.

This letter treats, among other questions, the organization of bilateral talks between representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Party of China concerning the relations between the two Parties and the preliminary arrangements for an international meeting of the communist and workers' parties.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always expressed itself in favor of meetings, talks and comradely consultations on conditions of parity for the purpose of settling misunderstandings that arise among communist and workers' parties of different countries and in the ranks of the international communist movement as a whole.

Our Party is of the opinion that mutual exchange of views and the organization of bilateral meetings and talks is an internal affair of the parties concerned.

But since in this letter Khrushchev, persisting in carrying on his open polemics with the Party of Labour of Albania (which goes to further prove that his statements at the 6th Congress of the German Socialist Unity Party about putting an end to disputes and so forth are sheer bluff and hypocrisy), launches attacks against our Party by calumniating it in a biased way, trying at the same

time to demagogically present himself and his attitude as being in line with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and with the Moscow Declaration and Statement, we have to make a reply.

The letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China contains among other things the following:

"In your letter you touch upon the Albanian and Yugoslav problems. As we have written, we are of the opinion that though they are matters of principle, they cannot and should not eclipse the main issues of our times which demand discussion at our meeting.

Our Party, condemning the splitting activities of the Albanian leaders, has at the same time ceaselessly undertaken the necessary steps to normalize the relations between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties. Although the leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania have recently launched slanderous attacks against our Party and the Soviet people, we, prompted by the highest interests, do not renounce the idea that the relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Party of Labour of Albania may be improved. Towards the end of February this year, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union took another initiative and proposed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania to hold a bilateral meeting of the representatives of both our parties. The leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania did not consider it necessary even to accept

our letter containing the proposal of the Central Committee of the Soviet Union for a bilateral meeting. Later on, apparently after thinking it over, the Albanian leaders sent a letter in which they speak of such a meeting under a number of reservations and conditions. If the desire is truly expressed we are ready to come to such a meeting."

As can be seen, Khrushchev's group have combined their resentment, slander and attacks against the Party of Labour of Albania with perjury and demagogy in these paragraphs, too. They try in every way to shift the responsibility for their own faults on to others, to make the Party of Labour of Albania responsible for the undesirable situation in Albanian-Soviet relations. They try once again to mislead the whole communist movement and the international public opinion.

THE SO-CALLED "ALBANIAN ISSUE" IS NOT A CASUAL AND ISOLATED INCIDENT

The above-mentioned letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China alludes to the so-called "Albanian issue" which "cannot and should not eclipse the main issues of our times". But what is this so-called "Albanian issue" and does it really exist? There exists no "Albanian issue" *per se,* it is only a trumped-up affair of Khrushchev's who wants to conceal his own hostile acts and attitude towards the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania and to

justify his further attacks and slanders against them. It is an attempt to present this "issue" as one of secondary importance, isolated from the "main issues" of our times and from the deep differences of principle which have arisen within the ranks of the international communist movement and which, according to him, seem to have been brought about by the "erroneous" and "incorrect" views and stand of the Albanian leaders.

In sizing up this problem we do not proceed from narrow premises, we do not proceed only from the fact of our being directly interested in the matter, but we think that this is an essential issue of principle.

The so-called "Albanian issue" is by no means a casual and isolated incident; it is not even confined to the narrow framework of mere Albanian-Soviet relations, but is one of the most emphatic and typical manifestations of the great struggle being waged today between Marxism-Leninism on the one hand and modern revisionism represented by the Titoite clique and Khrushchev's group on the other. It is part and parcel of this struggle, because the Party of Labour of Albania resolutely upholds the line of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and wages an irreconcilable struggle against modern revisionism. The question of Soviet-Albanian relations, the question of the relations between our two parties and our two countries is closely connected with this great issue of principle.

How did the so-called "Albanian issue" arise? Before Khrushchev's group came out in the open with their outspoken anti-Marxist, opportunist, revisionist line, that is, when they were carrying on their activities in forms more or less camouflaged and under zig-zag subterfuges imposed by the circumstances of the time, the Party of

Labour of Albania, maintaining a correct Marxist-Leninist attitude, was silently at variance with them on a number of important issues, such as the stand towards J. V. Stalin and his work, towards the Yugoslav revisionists and so on. Although the Party of Labour of Albania opposed in silence Khrushchev's activities in a number of matters, it waged an open resolute fight against the Yugoslav revisionists and maintained a clear-cut attitude towards them as renegades from Marxism and enemies of socialism, thus coming into open conflict with Khrushchev's attempts to rehabilitate the Titoite clique, to reconcile and get close to them. Khrushchev has ever since seen clearly enough that the Party of Labour of Albania was a stumbling-block in his way to realizing his anti-Marxist ends. This determined also his disguised hostile attitude towards the Party of Labour of Albania for its correct line of action in general and especially for its resolute clear-cut stand towards the Titoite clique, Khrushchev's future allies. Nevertheless the so-called "Albanian issue" had not yet come to the fore. The "Albanian issue" came up when Khrushchev openly set out to split the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement, when he strove to force his revisionist line on them by using rude and anti-Marxist methods. This came about at the June 1960 Bucharest meeting and at the meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow in November of the same year where the Party of Labour of Albania together with other fraternal parties persistently opposed the splitting attempts of Khrushchev, criticized his hazardous anti-Marxist views, attitude and acts, courageously upheld the Marxist-Leninist line of the international communist movement and its

unity. It was from here on that Khrushchev aired in public the ideological differences between the Party of Labour of Albania and his group, that Khrushchev's group and their followers started the open and unprincipled fight against the Party of Labour of Albania, a fight which became more and more bitter, reaching its culmination with the public attacks from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the press and subsequent congresses of certain other parties.

Thus, the so-called "Albanian issue" came into being as an aspect of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, between the Parties which follow the revolutionary line and the revisionists, Khrushchev's group and their followers. In reality, therefore, this is an issue concerning the general line of the international communist movement with which Khrushchev, openly or in disguise, has always been at variance; it is connected with the question whether this movement will develop along the line of Marxism-Leninism or that of revisionism.

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS LOYALLY PURSUED THE COMMON LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The line of the Party of Labour of Albania has always been in full agreement with the general line of the international communist movement; it has been a correct, consistent line in all problems of present world development. The Party of Labour of Albania has strictly

observed the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian internationalism, the programmatic documents of the international communist movement, the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations. Its correct line has been clearly expressed in all the writings and documents of the Party as well as in all the practical acts of our Party and Government.

The Party of Labour of Albania has continuously stood in positions of irreconcilable combat against imperialism, has never nurtured any illusions about the change of its aggressive nature, has resolutely exposed the aggressive and warmongering policy of imperialism, especially of American imperialism, considering it as the center of world reaction and international gendarme, as the bitterest enemy of mankind. Being fully aware of the change in the balance of forces in favor of the forces of socialism, peace and the national liberation movement, our Party has never overestimated or underestimated the strength of the imperialists and it has never committed the error of adventurism or capitulationism.

The Party of Labour of Albania considers the establishment of the world socialist system as the highest historical achievement of the international working class. The socialist camp is the powerful base supporting the world revolutionary and liberation movement; it is the mainspring of power in the struggle against imperialism, and is the bulwark of peace and social progress for all mankind. The Party of Labour of Albania has resolutely pursued the policy of friendship, fraternity, co-operation and mutual assistance with all the socialist countries. It has loyally applied and strictly observed the norms of relationship among socialist countries and communist parties.

It has always considered the help and support of other socialist countries as a very important factor in building socialism in Albania. On its part it has rendered its own contribution to strengthening the socialist camp and its unity.

In their relations with the capitalist countries the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania have consistently pursued the policy of peaceful coexistence based on the principles of equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual respect, a policy which they have always viewed as a form of class struggle in the international arena being continually waged in all ideological, political and economic fronts, between the two systems, the capitalist and the socialist. This they have considered and continue to consider as the only correct policy between countries with different social systems but they have never applied it in the relations between the opposing classes in the capitalist countries or in the relations between the oppressed and enslaved peoples and the imperialist colonialists.

The Party of Labour of Albania has viewed the struggle for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems as an important way to safeguard and consolidate peace in the world. In view of present conditions it has not considered nor does it consider today a world war or other aggressive wars of the imperialists as fatally inevitable, but at the same time it holds the view that, as long as imperialism exists, the basis for aggressive wars remains. It has always made a distinction between just and unjust wars; it has unreservedly supported the just wars and exposed and condemned the

international aggressors. The Party of Labour of Albania has viewed the struggle for peace as a fight against the imperialists, headed by the United States, because they are opponents of peace and it is precisely from them that the danger of war comes. The Party of Labour of Albania has been of the opinion, and continues to believe that peace and peaceful coexistence cannot be expected to be offered as a gift by the imperialists. Peace and peaceful coexistence cannot be attained by flattery and concessions, but only by determined struggle of all the peace-loving forces of the world forcing this on the imperialists.

The Party of Labour of Albania has been and continues to be in favor of easing international tension and of solving outstanding problems that are faced today, such as disarmament, nuclear test ban, conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany and the turning of West Berlin into a free and demilitarized city, etc. The solution of these problems requires that meetings and talks be held among the representatives of the various states, but these should be combined with the struggle of the peoples as the main force to oblige the imperialists to go to these meetings and talks, so that they may yield concrete results.

The Party of Labour of Albania has viewed the national liberation movement of the peoples against imperialist oppression and for freedom and national independence as one of the major movements of our times that undermines the positions of the imperialists, weakens and narrows down their sphere of action. But our Party is of the opinion that the colonial system of the imperialists has not yet been done away with, that millions upon

millions of people of entire continents still languish under their sway and that the imperialists headed by the United States are doing their utmost, resorting even to wars and open aggression, to maintain their positions and to re-establish their colonial oppression and exploitation in newer forms. The struggle of these peoples against the imperialists is, at the same time, a struggle for the triumph of peace and peaceful coexistence, a potent ally and powerful support for the revolutionary struggle of the international workers' movement and of all the socialist countries. It is precisely on this account that the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania have supported without reserve this just war of the peoples for national liberation against the imperialists and have given it every assistance. We have considered this support and assistance a high internationalist duty.

The Party of Labour of Albania has likewise upheld and supported without reserve the revolutionary movement of the working class and of the working masses in the capitalist countries against capitalist oppression and exploitation and for their social emancipation. It has always maintained the Leninist viewpoint that revolutions cannot be exported and it has at the same time expressed itself against the exportation of counter-revolution by the imperialists. Our Party has maintained and continues to maintain the view that the path to the triumph of revolution does not necessarily have to pass through wars among states, that such wars are neither the cause nor the essential condition for the triumph of the revolution. As to the forms of development of revolutions, it has maintained the view that they depend on the concrete historical conditions in each country and on the international

situation. It has admitted and still admits the peaceful way as a possibility for transition to socialism, but it has expressed itself against making this the absolute way and against the reformist and opportunist interpretation denying the need of breaking up the old apparatus of the bourgeois state and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our Party has maintained that it is necessary for the communist parties to be prepared at the same time for both possibilities — the peaceful and the non-peaceful ways, and is of the opinion that a good preparation for the non-peaceful way increases the chances for the triumph of socialism in the peaceful way.

This has been in general the line of the Party of Labour and of the People's Republic of Albania in its main aspects long before Khrushchev broached his "Albanian question". This consistent line remained unaltered and did not comply with Khrushchev's opportunist and revisionist line even after he came out in the open with his anti-Marxist course of action in opposition to the general line of the international communist and workers' movement. The correct line and principled stand of the Party of Labour of Albania has never been to Khrushchev's liking and this is the source of the contradictions and the disagreements with him, the source of his bitter attacks against the Party of Labour of Albania. It is precisely on this account that he has called the line of our Party a "sectarian", "dogmatic", "adventurist" line, and the leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania "partisans of the cult of the individual, of terror, of the violation of socialist legality" etc., with a view to discrediting the Party of Labour of Albania and intimidating others so as to force on them his anti-Marxist line of action.

DESPITE HIS DEMAGOGY, KHRUSHCHEV IS UNABLE TO CAMOUFLAGE HIS OUT-AND-OUT REVISIONIST LINE

But what is this line which Khrushchev has striven to force on the international communist and workers' movement and which he loudly proclaims as a creative Marxist-Leninist line? In reality, despite his demagogy, it is an entirely revisionist and opportunist line that has caused and is causing great damage to the socialist camp, to the international communist movement, to the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples against imperialism, to the cause of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism.

In their propaganda, particularly in recent times, Khrushchev's group continue to spread their anti-Marxist thesis and try to prove by a play upon words that their views and acts are in line with the Moscow Declarations, with the Leninist teachings and the interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. Thus, for instance, Khrushchev's group claim that they are guided by "the Leninist spirit of irreconcilable struggle against the imperialists" and they reiterate some conclusions of the Moscow Declarations that "the anti-popular and predatory nature of imperialism has not changed", that "the American imperialists are now exercising the functions of an international gendarme", that "because of their predatory nature the imperialists cannot free themselves from the tendency to settle contradictions in the international arena through wars" and so on and so forth.

But how can these be reconciled with Khrushchev's former statements and acts? Is it not Khrushchev who has all along tried to spread illusions about the change of the nature of the imperialists and their leaders, and on this hypothesis based his entire attitude and activity? It is precisely he who, disregarding "the predatory nature of imperialism", has more than once declared that "a world free of arms, free of armies and free of wars" can be realized right away, that "the year 1960 will go down in history as the year marking the beginning of the realization of this age-long dream of mankind" (Khrushchev's conversation with the director of the Argentine newspaper *Klarin* on December 30, 1959), that "the real possibility of finally eliminating war from the life of society for all time is being brought about during our very own time" (Khrushchev's speech in Indonesia on February 21, 1960). It is none other than Khrushchev who has stated that "the imperialists have taken our challenge for peaceful competition in economic development to heart . . . we are continually drawing the capitalist countries towards the road of peaceful competition between the two systems", that "now the question is which system will show greater vitality, that is, which system will give the people more material and cultural values in a shorter period of time" (Khrushchev's article in the journal *Communist,* No. 12, August 1962).

In arrant contradiction to what is said in the Moscow Declarations on American imperialism and its leaders, Khrushchev declared on his return from a visit to the USA before Moscovites, before all the people, before the Government and the Party, that the President of the USA, Eisenhower, "is seriously eager to put an

end to the cold war" and that "he enjoys the absolute confidence of his people" (Khrushchev's speech at the rally of the Moscow workers on September 28, 1959). In praising Eisenhower, Macmillan and de Gaulle, Khrushchev has said: "All of them are aware of the necessity of serving to further ease international tension and to settle international problems through discussions and not through war" (Khrushchev's speech in Azerbaydjan on April 25, 1960).

Khrushchev has lavished praises on Eisenhower's successor, President Kennedy, as well. Even during the critical days of the Caribbean crisis, when Kennedy and his government laid bare their features as warmongers and aggressors, Khrushchev in his message of October 27, 1962, wrote to Kennedy: "Your concern for the security of your country is understandable to me, Mr. President, for this is the prime duty of a President . . . You desire to secure your country and this is understandable". In his message sent one day later on October 28, 1962, he wrote to Kennedy: "I express my satisfaction for your appreciation of the responsibility devolving now upon you to preserve peace in the entire world".

According to Khrushchev's statements, war is not an offspring of imperialism and its aggressive policy, but the risk of war comes from certain "madmen", from certain "lunatics", who "prefer to die in capitalism rather than live in communism". And according to him, it is exactly these persons who exert "a strong pressure" on "peaceful Presidents" (who seem to desire to live in communism!) and on the governments of the USA and other imperialist countries and who urge them to pursue "at times" a non-peaceful foreign policy. Khrushchev went even so far

as to slanderously allege that the danger of war comes today also from "people who pose as Marxist-Leninists but who, in reality, are dogmatic, who do not believe in the possibility of achieving socialism and communism under conditions of peaceful coexistence with capitalism" (Khrushchev's speech at the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on December 12, 1962).

This list of Khrushchev's statements and talks embellishing imperialism and describing imperialist chieftains as "peace-loving", is not at all exhausted. But we think it is sufficient. And where is to be found "the Leninist spirit of irreconcilable struggle against the imperialists" which Khrushchev uses to try to deceive the people?

Persisting in his demagogy, Khrushchev alleges that he takes into account the change in the balance of forces in the international arena and says that in order to preserve peace and forestall a world war "it is necessary to continuously strengthen the socialist system, the unity of all the forces of the international working class, the national liberation movement and all the democratic forces".

But does Khrushchev really depend on these forces to safeguard peace and forestall a world war and other aggressive wars which the imperialists undertake? Judging from all the views and acts of Khrushchev's group in the field of international politics, it would seem that the destiny of peace and of the peoples depends on "superior individuals", on their "wisdom" and "rationality", on the outcome of Khrushchev's talks with the representatives of the imperialists, especially of the American imperialists. In a speech delivered as early as October 31, 1959 to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Khrushchev stated: "We have said it more than once that the most

Complicated international issues can be settled only by the heads of governments vested with competent authority. It is only they who can clear up the pile of anomalies in international relations accumulated during many years of cold war". It was precisely in this spirit that he and his followers called the Khrushchev-Eisenhower meeting at Camp David as the beginning of a "new stage", of a "new era", as "a turning point in the history of mankind". A. Gromyko, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, stated in his speech to the Supreme Soviet in December 1962 that "if there is harmony between the Chairman of the Soviet Government, Khrushchev, and the President of the USA, Kennedy, there will be also a settlement of the international issues". In order to better realize this "harmony" it was even decided recently to establish direct telephonic communications between Khrushchev and Kennedy, between these two statesmen who seem to have the destiny of mankind in their own hands. This is Khrushchev's real concern!

Therefore, it is becoming more and more evident that what the modern revisionists say about the strength of the peoples, about the role of the masses in the struggle for peace, etc., is nothing but demagogy and deceit. Khrushchev himself, in a speech on December 12, 1962, went so far as to call the struggle of the peoples against the imperialists "hot air", "bombastic assertions" that cause no damage to the imperialists. Moreover, Khrushchev has not hesitated to stigmatize all those who have the courage to expose the imperialists and who call upon the people to rise against the imperialists in defense of

peace and of their national liberation and social emancipation, as warmongers who "are eager to hurl the world into a nuclear catastrophe", who wish to score victory over the imperialists "through wars among states, through ravage and destruction, through bloodshed and the death of millions of people".

In order to make people give up their just struggle against the imperialists, in order to paralyze the revolutionary movement and the national liberation war of the peoples, Khrushchev has become a voluntary propagandist for the policy of atomic blackmail which the American imperialists pursue, a thing which goes to show that he is scared to death, that he has slid into the mire of defeatism, that he has lost all faith in the triumph of socialism and communism in the world at large. Is this not borne out by Khrushchev's speech to the Austrian-Soviet Society on July 2, 1960, where he is recorded as saying: "If in this world we cannot live as the living beings could live in Noah's Ark but begin to settle differences among states by means of war — who dislikes socialism and who dislikes capitalism — then we will wreck our Noah's Ark, our terrestrial globe." He reiterated the same ideas in 1963 when speaking at the 6th Congress of the German Socialist Unity Party. He stated: "According to the accounts of the scientists, 700 to 800 million persons would be killed as a result of the first attack alone. All the large cities, not only of the two superior atomic powers — the United States and the Soviet Union — but also of France, England, Germany, Italy, China, Japan and of many other countries of the world, would be destroyed and razed to the ground. The consequences of atomic and hydrogen

war would be felt throughout the life of many generations of men, causing diseases, deaths and leading to the ugliest development of man." Statements of this kind abound in Khrushchev's speeches as well as in the propaganda materials of his group.

And what do all of these show? Such pessimistic and capitulationist stands serve only the imperialists and cause great damage to the struggle of the peoples in defense of peace. And truly enough, what good comes from the propaganda of atomic blackmail which Khrushchev also joins when the imperialists threaten the peoples with war and aggression? Are the people of the socialist countries and the other peace-loving people to be trained and cultivated in this spirit of defeatism, so that in case the imperialists launch a war, they should surrender unconditionally and hoist the white flag? What does this have in common with the Moscow Declarations? Is it not demagogical for Khrushchev, therefore, to state that "we will constrain the imperialists not to forget that if they launch a war to settle by force of arms the issue of which path mankind will follow — the capitalist or the socialist — this will be the final war in which imperialism will be crushed"? There is no doubt that Khrushchev's demagogy and sophistry will fail to intimidate and deceive the Marxist-Leninists and the peoples.

Khrushchev speaks a great deal about peaceful coexistence, its Leninist meaning and its practical application in conformity with the terms of the Moscow Declarations. And, to give the devil "his due", he has even stressed recently that coexistence "presupposes uninterrupted ideological, political and economic struggle between the two social systems, the class struggle within the countries

of the capitalist system including the armed struggle when the people consider it essential, the further development of the national liberation movement of the colonial and dependent countries". But how far is Khrushchev from these theses! If he conceives peaceful coexistence in this way, then why does he accuse the Party of Labour of Albania and other fraternal parties which consistently abide by the terms of the Moscow Declarations as regards this matter, of being opposed to peaceful coexistence?

As a matter of fact, here too, Khrushchev is demagogically playing with words, for although he admits in words that "peaceful coexistence does not mean socialist and bourgeois ideological reconciliation", he actually believes that the ideological contradictions between the two systems will be settled not through revolutions for the triumph of socialism in various countries, but through peaceful economic competition between the two systems. Thus, in an interview granted on November 21, 1957 to Brazilian journalists, Khrushchev stated: "If all the pending issues are settled through discussions and the ideological contradiction between the socialist and the capitalist systems through peaceful competition in economic and cultural development and in fulfilling the material and cultural demands of the people, we can say with certainty that a long period of peace will be secured for humanity".

Although he admits in words that peaceful coexistence presupposes the political struggle between the two systems, Khrushchev in fact has renounced this struggle and, instead of exposing the warmongering and aggressive policy of the imperialists headed by the United States, he spreads, as we stressed above, all kinds of pacifist illusions about the imperialists and sings the praises

of their leaders. Khrushchev has said, "We must ensure that the inevitable struggle between the two systems is channelled without exception into the struggle between ideologies and into the peaceful competition or rivalry, if we speak in terms more understandable for the capitalists" (Khrushchev's speech to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in January 1960). It is exactly the peaceful coexistence in this way that the present Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, B. Ponomaryov, has dubbed as "the highest form of class struggle between two opposing systems — socialism and capitalism" *(Pravda,* August 12, 1960).

Although they admit in words that peaceful coexistence does not exclude but assumes the class struggle and national liberation wars, Khrushchev and his group in reality maintain the point of view that peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the two systems are the main and more effective means for achieving national liberation and social emancipation of the peoples. A. Rumyanchev, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has said, "Peaceful coexistence and that alone is the best and only acceptable way to settle the problems of vital importance that society faces" *(Problems of Peace and Socialism,* No. 1, 1962).

With such anti-Marxist views, Khrushchev has distorted the Marxist-Leninist conception of peaceful coexistence, on the one hand by proclaiming it as "the general line" of the foreign policy of the socialist countries, while on the other hand, by attempting to force it "as a general line" on the world revolutionary and liberation move-

ment, with the aim of compelling people to renounce their revolutionary and liberation struggles.

Khrushchev sets the struggle for peace and for peaceful coexistence against the world revolutionary and liberation movement. He proclaims far and wide that "the struggle for peace has become the most important condition of the struggle for socialism", that "no problem of the revolutionary movement of the working class and of the liberation movement can now be examined apart from the struggle for peace, from the prevention of nuclear war" (Khrushchev's speech on January 16, 1963, at the 6th Congress of the German Socialist Unity Party). His propaganda agents have even gone so far as to describe disarmament as "the most important factor for the liberation of colonial peoples", that disarmament is "the main goal of the peoples who fight for national liberation". What do Khrushchev's statements, such as "every local war today might turn into a world war" and "every spark might kindle a world conflagration", mean if not that the peoples should renounce their revolutionary and liberation struggle and accept the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence as the highest goal of their effort? Khrushchev has said in the same vein that "general and total disarmament would create new opportunities to give assistance to states whose economies are now weak and need aid from the advanced states", that an "aid" of this kind (given by the imperialist powers) "could inaugurate a new epoch in economic development in Asia, Africa and Latin America" (Khrushchev's address to the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization on September 18, 1959), that "durable peace under conditions of general and total disarmament would make it possible

to place all the resources that exist in the world at the service of the peoples in order to fulfil their material and cultural needs".

Khrushchev's group not only spread the illusion that the national liberation and social emancipation of the peoples comes automatically as a result of the realization of disarmament, of economic competition and of peaceful coexistence between the two systems, thus lulling the people into a state of inertia, expecting liberation and progress to come as a boon from abroad, but they fail to stress that the revolutionary and liberation struggle against the imperialists is a powerful force which plays a very important role in preserving peace and achieving peaceful coexistence and disarmament, that this struggle is of great assistance to the strengthening of the positions of the world socialist system and of all the forces that strive for the triumph of socialism in the world.

ILLUSIONS AND OPPORTUNIST ATTITUDES HAVE HAMPERED THE ACHIEVING OF GREATER RESULTS IN THE CAUSE OF THE PEOPLES, OF PEACE AND OF SOCIALISM

The demagogy of Khrushchev's group, their revisionist views and activities regarding the above issues extend into all the other cardinal issues of the time which preoccupy the international communist movement and the whole of mankind. They all prove eloquently but one thing — that by openly defying the Moscow Declarations, they have caused great damage to the whole international revolutionary and liberation movement of the world.

This damage stands out like a dark spot against the background of the great achievements that have been attained, thanks to the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, to the struggle of the international proletariat, of the oppressed peoples, the other peace-loving forces against imperialism and for peace, freedom, democracy and socialism. The Party of Labour of Albania has always stood by and supported the just policy of the Soviet State and of the other socialist states regarding the major problems of the day, such as the prevention of world war, disarmament and banning nuclear arms, the German problem, the West Berlin problem, and so on. Not only this, but our Party has always and consistently striven and continues to strive for the precise implementation of the joint policy of the socialist countries in settling these problems.

There is no doubt that the achievements of the socialist camp and of all the people would have been far greater if subjective opinions and idle illusions proceeding from anti-Marxist conceptions of the nature and aims of imperialism had not been spread and had not taken root.

The favorable situation brought about by the struggle of the people and the aggravation of the contradictions within the ranks of imperialism would have been turned to better advantage if the opportunist views and attitudes had been ceased, if the line and joint decisions had been consistently carried out.

"The world free of arms, free of wars and free of armies" which, it was pretended, would have been offered to mankind as early as 1960, brought nothing good to them except vain illusions and damage to the struggle of the peoples. And it could not have been otherwise.

This slogan is impossible of being realized so long as imperialism exists. As a matter of fact, regardless of the bouquets strewn before "peace-loving presidents", the imperialists have recently continued with the same zeal and violence as before a chain of belligerent acts in various regions of the world — the Congo, south Vietnam, Laos, Angola and elsewhere — plunging whole peoples into bloodbaths in order to maintain their colonial rule or to re-establish the sway of neo-colonialism, the rule of ruthless exploitation, terror and murder. The revisionists have not considered imperialism as imperialism — the bulwark of world reaction — because they have always thought and still think that they can please "the international gendarme" with their flattery and concessions and persuade him to establish "a world free of wars" by "sound reasoning".

On the problem of general and total disarmament, how injurious it was to these talks to spread illusions about the chieftains of American imperialism going to these talks to settle this issue "with frankness"! In reality the imperialists have used and continue to use these endless talks as a smokescreen to hide their preparations for war. The imperialists, far from being disarmed, have speeded up their armaments race, and are arming themselves to the teeth with modern weapons, investing for this purpose tens of billions of dollars. They are arming the Bonn revanchists with atomic weapons; they are supplying their allies with "Polaris" missiles and so on and so forth. The same is true of the nuclear test ban. The American imperialists, after completing their recent program of explosions, continue to prepare for other detonations. On this question they are not "becoming reason-

able" even though Khrushchev has made concessions. Khrushchev, who formerly maintained that "on-the-spot inspections" were acts of espionage — which they really are — has accepted three such inspections a year within the territory of the Soviet Union. The American imperialists, who are in fact opposed to the ban on nuclear tests, are not pleased even with this concession. They demand new concessions; they demand that the portals of the Soviet Union be opened to them, at least for eight or ten inspections a year.

It is a known fact that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have long since correctly drawn up and coordinated their policy also with regard to the German question and that of West Berlin. But what do Khrushchev's loud promises, repeated waverings and "elastic" withdrawals have in common with this policy? His frivolous and unprincipled stand is clearly indicated, if by nothing else, by the following statements:

In his press conference at the Kremlin on November 27, 1958, Khrushchev, arguing the need of concluding a peace treaty with Germany and of settling the West Berlin problem within a period of six months, that is, by May 27, 1959, stated: "As a consequence of the policy of the Western powers West Berlin has been turned into a kind of cancerous tumor. And if it is not done away with, a thing of this kind threatens to become a risk that may have very undesirable consequences. For this reason we make up our minds to perform a surgical operation, that is to do away with the status of occupation of Berlin".

In his speech at Leipzig on March 5, 1959, referring to the time limit for signing the peace treaty with Ger-

many, Khrushchev stated: "I have been telling the leaders of the Western countries: 'If you, gentlemen, desire to discuss with us on reasonable grounds, we may postpone this time limit from May 27 to June 27. If you so desire, to July also, but the Berlin problem and the problem of the peace treaty with Germany must be settled' ".

The year 1959 ended. No other time limit was set, but at his press conference in Paris on May 18, 1960, Khrushchev stated that for signing the peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic "the projects are already at hand", and stressed that there was nothing else to do but "pull out our fountain pens and sign and proclaim it".

The year 1960, too, came to an end. On June 15, 1961, in a speech broadcast by radio and television, Khrushchev stated: "We ask everyone to understand us correctly: the conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany cannot be further postponed, a peaceful settlement of the issues in Europe must be arrived at this year", and on June 21, 1961 he declared: "Together with the other peace-loving states we shall sign the peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic at the end of this year".

In his speech broadcast by radio and television on August 7, 1961, arguing the need of concluding this treaty immediately, Khrushchev stressed: "What would be the outcome of continuing to postpone the conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany for several years more? This would mean we would show tolerance towards the forces of aggression, we would retreat before their pressure. A situation of this kind would encourage NATO and the Bonn Government to set up more and more

divisions in Western Germany, to equip them with atomic and thermonuclear weapons, to turn Western Germany into the main force to launch a new world war". Khrushchev reiterated this idea in the interview granted to the American journalist D. Pearson on August 26 when he said: "Every delay would be interpreted by the revenge-seeking circles of Western Germany as an encouragement for aggression and for the launching of a new war".

Less than two months after these declarations were made Khrushchev proclaimed in his report to the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on October 17, 1961: "If the Western powers show readiness in settling the German problem, the question of the time for signing the peace treaty with Germany will not be so important, and we will not insist on signing it by all means before December 31, 1961".

Thus ended 1961. Towards the end of 1962 — on November 7, to be exact — Khrushchev, in reply to a question by journalists as to when the peace treaty with Germany might be signed, said: "The question here is like the birth of a child. When the proper time comes, it is born. Therefore, wait for the time to come!" And finally, in his speech to the 6th Congress of the German Socialist Unity Party, considering the building of the wall between the two parts of Berlin as the object of what we wanted, he stated: "Now, if we look at the matter in the light of the direct interest of the socialist countries, the question of the conclusion of the peace treaty does not in reality stand as it stood prior to the taking of protective measures on the border between the German Democratic Republic and West Berlin". Immediately after this, certain followers of Khrushchev in-

dicated that whoever raised the question of the peace treaty with Germany or of Berlin now "would be doing the work of the enemy" and "would be taking the side of the warmongers".

All this humbug only proves that the unprincipled stand of Khrushchev slurs and jeopardizes the policy of the Soviet State and of the socialist camp.

Khrushchev pretends that he is well acquainted with the world and its grave and complicated problems and that he has faced them. But the fact is that he is little acquainted with these problems and has turned his back on them.

The ugliest aspect of Khrushchev's erroneous and hazardous activities, of his revisionist views and unprincipled concessions, is, no doubt, his attitude towards the Cuban crisis and the Sino-Indian border conflict. In the Cuban events Khrushchev acted both as an adventurist and as a capitulationist. It is a known fact that during the Caribbean crisis he not only made unilateral concessions to the American imperialists by withdrawing rockets, airplanes and military experts from Cuba, but he exerted much pressure on a sovereign state to accept the international control of the American imperialists within its territory so that he could make good the promises he had given to President Kennedy. Whereas in the Sino-Indian border conflict he not only proclaimed his quasi "neutrality", but went so far as to give military aid to the Indian reactionary clique who had launched aggressive acts against a socialist country.

There is no gainsaying the fact that because of his revisionist policy, Khrushchev will have to render account somewhere for the harm he has caused and is causing

the international communist and workers' movement. He will have to render accounts both to his party and his people as well as to the entire communist movement in future international forums.

It may come about that, in their struggle, Parties and true communists may have to meet with not only triumphs but also defeats which may be partly due to subjective mistakes. But the Communist Parties and devoted revolutionaries are not afraid of criticising and admitting their mistakes. Whereas with Khrushchev it is different. He is afraid of admitting his mistakes and failures. He even tries his best to cover them up with demagogy, to distort the truth and present it in false colors, and to expect others to chime in with him, to refrain from censuring him and to hide the truth. Khrushchev practises demagogy when, parallel with his revisionist views and deeds, parallel with his opportunist concessions combined with "a storm in a tea-cup", which have led him to such grave errors, he claims that he has never nurtured any illusions about the imperialists. He indulges in demagogy when, parallel with his overestimation of talks and of the role of individuals, he proclaims that he upholds the actions of the masses, the revolutionary and liberation movements of the peoples and their relation to the settlement of the major problems, such as the preservation of peace, disarmament, the banning of atomic weapons and so on.

To say the least, he practises demagogy when he disregards and violates the Moscow Declarations and at the same time swears loyalty to them. Of course, in all these and similar cases, when it is a matter of settling acute international problems, he tries to hide his hand

and to strengthen his demagogy by attacking the "warmongering dogmatists" of the Party of Labour of Albania and others, by posing the pathetic question: "But why, do you wish us to settle matters by resorting to war?" It is futile for Khrushchev to slander the Party of Labour of Albania and the other Marxist parties. The Party of Labour of Albania has never nurtured the idea that international issues should be settled by war. It has thought and continues to think that there is only one way to settle them, namely by carrying out to the letter the joint decisions of the Moscow Declarations both as regards specific cases such as that of the peace treaty with Germany as well as all the problems that face mankind today. This is what our Party has demanded and continues to demand.

Khrushchev's demagogy and trickery will never attain their goal, for if they did they would greatly jeopardize the whole international communist movement. Therefore it is essential to point out the sore spot, to put things in order, to lay bare the truth with courage, so that our movement may forge ahead more powerfully in order to fulfill its mission in history. This is precisely what the Marxist-Leninist parties and true revolutionaries will do.

The line of Khrushchev's group is facing a grave risk, the risk of being fully unmasked. And it could not happen otherwise. The revisionist trumpeters will one day blow themselves hoarse and the opportunist "heroes" will clash with the Marxist-Leninists within the ranks of their own parties and with the international communist movement. Their revisionist line of action, followed with so much zeal, has brought a number of difficulties to the revi-

sionist groups themselves not only in foreign policy but also in internal policy, economic, cultural and so on, which cannot be covered up for long by demagogy and bombastic speeches, nor by the so-called "echoes" which sound like the peal of bells without festivity.

Khrushchev feels obliged to make numerous reorganizations in all fields of activity, which have brought about nothing but chaos and detriment to his own group. His heart broke when he felt obliged to throw overboard his cherished child, Yevtushenko, whom he had brought up and fondled, whom he had raised to a place of honor in *Pravda,* as the trumpeter of anti-Stalinism. But Khrushchev's demagogical manoeuvres do not easily and for long deceive the Bolsheviks and the Soviet people, nor the communists and peoples of other countries.

Khrushchev's allies, whom he led into a blind alley, whom he compromised, whom he hitched to his wagon and is now dragging into the abyss, are also facing serious difficulties. Nevertheless there are people who can think, and this is positive, there are those who react, and this is even more positive; there are also those who waver, who fear and lack courage, but who have doubts about these so-called "good things" of this revisionist line. These people are in conflict with their Parties, with their comrades, with their own conscience. They are in conflict with Khrushchev and Tito. The sworn revisionists have unsheathed their daggers and are shamelessly placing these people in a dilemma: either to follow a course of complete betrayal or to be removed from the scene as Stalinists, anti-Marxists, dogmatists, nationalists!

Finding themselves face to face with the displeasure of the overwhelming rank and file of communists and the masses of the people, due especially to the difficulties which their policy has created in all the phases of life, Khrushchev's loyal allies, too, resort to demagogy, copy their "master" in everything and at the same time strive to carry de-Stalinization to the end, to totally rehabilitate traitors, to purge the ranks of the party and the organs of the state not only of the Stalinists, but also of the "lukewarms", of the "waverers". These revisionists see their only salvation in posing as better catholics than the Pope. But their assaults resemble Don Quixote's charge on the windmills.

Under the pressure of Marxist-Leninists, Khrushchev's group strive to defend themselves by appropriating the arguments of the Marxists, and pretending they are their own. At times, they go so far in their attempts to deceive the people as even to sing Stalin's praises. The revisionists are well acquainted with the threads with which they have interwoven the great plot against the Soviet Union and the international communist movement by assailing J. V. Stalin's person and work. But the Marxists have detected these threads and are busy cutting them one after another until the black spider will one day be left without a web. Khrushchev knows very well the colossal significance of the Stalin question not only for the Soviet Union, but for all the international communists, for Marxism-Leninism itself. He thought he had wound up this matter successfully; he thought he had created such a terrible "scarecrow" in the world that nobody would dare to stand in defense of Stalin, nor would his name be mentioned again. However, the con-

trary happened. The Marxist-Leninists, true revolutionaries and the people are daily realizing more and more that since the question of Stalin is inseparable from the safeguarding of Leninism it is a matter of primary importance and principle in the fight between Marxists and revisionists. For without reinstating Stalin and his work, our revolutionary movement and the cause of Marxism-Leninism can make no headway. The truth cannot be obscured, for it is a glowing light; lies, slanders and demagogy are the weapons of plotters, the weapons of darkness.

KHRUSHCHEV ON A COMMON FRONT WITH THE YUGOSLAV REVISIONISTS

In the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, a so-called "Albanian question" is not only mentioned but placed on the same level with the Yugoslav question. In other words, the People's Republic of Albania is equated with Titoite Yugoslavia and the Party of Labour of Albania with the renegade clique of Belgrade.

It is a known fact that Khrushchev has persistently pursued the line of approach, of affiliation and complete union, of all-round collaboration towards Yugoslavia, establishing a common front with the Tito clique under the pretext that "Yugoslavia is a socialist country" and the League of Yugoslav Communists "a fraternal party". And he tries to impose on the entire international communist movement this line of his, which is in arrant

contradiction with the 1960 Moscow Declaration, in which the Yugoslav revisionists are unanimously condemned as renegades by all the communist and workers' parties. He does this by launching bitter attacks on all those who loyally abide by the Declaration and oppose affinity with the Tito clique, as well as Khrushchev's attempts to include Yugoslavia in the family of socialist countries and the League of Yugoslav Communists in the ranks of the international communist movement.

In order to deceive public opinion, and justify his views and acts, Khrushchev trumpets abroad that "changes are being effected" in Yugoslavia, that "the foreign policy of Yugoslavia is in line with the policy of the socialist states", that, after all, "certain serious divergences are noticed in some ideological matters and the Yugoslav comrades will be frankly told about them". Khrushchev's demagogy can deceive no one. For it is plain to all that "no changes" have been effected nor are being effected in Yugoslavia by the Titoite clique to show that mistakes are being corrected there, but, on the contrary, they are proceeding directly towards betrayal. The Tito clique have themselves more than once declared that no changes have been effected or will be effected contrary to the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists approved at their 7th Congress. Why does Khrushchev not tell the communist movement where are the changes of which he speaks? Why does he not bring forth concrete facts instead of glittering generalities? It is clear that there are no concrete facts nor will there ever be.

One of Khrushchev's "sound" arguments is the so-called "sameness" or "identity" of the position of Titoite

Yugoslavia with that of the socialist countries in a number of questions of foreign policy. Again empty words, again bluffs. Every one who follows carefully the development of events and the attitude of Titoite Yugoslavia towards various international issues has noticed that the attitude of the Yugoslav revisionists has had in each and every instance nothing in common with the attitude of the socialist countries. This is borne out by their attitude during the crisis in the Caribbean sea and towards the Sino-Indian border conflict in which the Titoite clique sided with the aggressors and condemned both Fidel Castro's Cuba and People's China. In what matters does the policy of the Yugoslav revisionist renegade clique "coincide" with the foreign policy of the socialist countries? Is it in the stand towards the national liberation wars of the oppressed and the newly liberated peoples, which the Titoite clique do their best to wreck? Or is it in their conduct towards the socialist countries, against whom the Titoite clique have hatched and continue to hatch counter-revolutionary plots, as in the case of the People's Republic of Albania and of the People's Republic of Hungary? Or are the Yugoslav revisionists possibly of the same mind with the socialist countries on such major issues as, for instance, the question of the peace treaty with Germany and of turning West Berlin into a free demilitarized city? When the situation calls for serious action in these matters, it will be seen which side the Titoite clique will take, whether they will line up with the socialist countries, whether they will identify with the Soviet Union or will side with the imperialists.

Empty words for demagogical purposes are not used by Khrushchev alone. The Tito clique are also well versed in them. They too can express themselves in favor of peaceful coexistence and disarmament, in favor of the independence of the peoples and so on and so forth. But it is not only the Belgrade renegade clique who so express themselves. The most aggressive imperialists, Kennedy and Adenauer, also wave the olive branch, speak of coexistence and disarmament, deliver speeches and dispatch messages upholding the independence of the peoples, but this by no means hinders them from actually pursuing the policy of war and armaments, the policy of oppression and enslavement of the peoples.

Khrushchev is well aware that a minaret cannot be put into a sack, that the communists who abide by the Moscow Declarations cannot be made to subscribe to the idea that Yugoslavia is a socialist country. Therefore, posing as a man of principle, he stresses that in certain ideological matters he is not at one with "the Yugoslav comrades" and that he will tell them so. But what are these ideological matters and how will they be disclosed publicly or confidentially? The Moscow Declaration emphasizes that it behooves the communist parties to continually expose the Yugoslav revisionists. Khrushchev and his group have not only disregarded this correct conclusion of the Declaration but, on the contrary, have more than once attacked those parties which abide by the Declaration and expose the views and activities of the Titoite renegades. Isn't the scandalous conduct towards the delegate of the Communist Party of China to the 6th Congress of the German Socialist Unity Party a best proof of this?

All facts show that by trampling underfoot the Moscow Declarations Khrushchev's group have not only given up exposing the Yugoslav revisionists but have long since pursued the line of complete understanding, forming in this way a joint revisionist front with them. And this has come about not because the Tito clique has "changed" but because the attitude of Khrushchev and his group has changed to positions of revisionism, of anti-Marxism. This is clearly borne out by their stand towards another thesis of the Moscow Declarations, namely, towards the thesis that specifies revisionism as the principal menace to the international communist and workers' movement.

With regard to this, too, Khrushchev claims that he abides by the Moscow Declarations and that he even wages a struggle on two fronts, against revisionism and against dogmatism. But what are the facts? It is well known that in addition to the Yugoslav renegade revisionist clique, the leaders of the Italian Communist Party, headed by Togliatti, have also embraced revisionist views that have found expression in numerous official documents and writings of theirs. Khrushchev and his group have not uttered a single word of reproach for these opportunist views; on the contrary, they have smiled upon and lost no opportunity to praise the revisionist line of Togliatti and his companions, describing it as an example of "creative Marxism". Another of the ugliest manifestations of modern revisionism is Dange's group in India, who have become obedient servitors of the most reactionary circles of the Indian bourgeoisie and have crossed over to open betrayal and social chauvinism. Khrushchev and his group have not uttered a single word

of reproach to this group of traitors nor condemned their views; on the contrary, they conduct "hearty meetings" with Dange, thus encouraging him to proceed further along the path of betrayal.

Where then is Khrushchev's and his group's "determined struggle" against revisionism? They have renounced this struggle, and since they themselves stand in the position of revisionism they even try their utmost to compel others to renounce such a struggle. In fact, Khrushchev and his group have turned the sharp edge of their daggers against the so-called "dogmatists", by which they really mean the Marxist-Leninists.

KHRUSHCHEV IS LOOKING IN VAIN FOR AN "ORIGINAL" WAY TO RE-ESTABLISH "UNITY"

But after all is said and done, why does Khrushchev need to place, even formally, the so-called "Albanian question" on the same level with the Yugoslav question? To us it is very clear that he needs this stratagem in order to link the two things and to make one serve the other, so that he may oblige the Marxist-Leninist parties to admit Yugoslavia as a socialist state, the League of Yugoslav Communists as a fraternal party, "compensating" this with the recognition of Albania as a socialist country. In other words: either you, Marxist-Leninist parties, recognize Yugoslavia as a socialist country and the League of Yugoslav Communists as a fraternal Communist Party and consequently give up your attempts to expose the Titoite clique, while we (i. e. Khrushchev's group) agree, "in compensation", to call Albania a social-

ist country and to give up our public assaults on the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders; or, in case you continue to expose the Yugoslav revisionists, we will continue our attacks on the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania and will demand their expulsion from the communist movement and the socialist camp. Or, let us, as a last resort, shove aside both the Yugoslav question and the "Albanian question", and let time take care of them. (But Khrushchev forgets one "little detail": Tito's revisionist clique have been unanimously condemned by the international communist and workers' movement as traitors to Marxism-Leninism, whereas the Party of Labour of Albania is a Marxist-Leninist party and the People's Republic of Albania, a member of the socialist camp. Therefore they can neither be compared to the League of Yugoslav Communists and Tito's Yugoslavia nor be shoved aside when the settlement of problems pertaining to the international communist and workers' movement is under discussion.)

Evidently Khrushchev has discovered an "original" way out of the grave situation into which the socialist camp and the communist movement have been hurled by his anti-Marxist attitude and activities, and, in defiance of the Moscow Declarations, he proposes some sort of "reasonable compromise". He proposes a compromise to the detriment of a Marxist-Leninist party and a socialist country — the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania. Khrushchev is accustomed to bargaining the sovereignty of others, notwithstanding the fact that he has not met nor will ever meet with success as far as Marxist-Leninist parties and free and sovereign peoples are concerned.

The arbitrary stand of Khrushchev's group towards the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania shows beyond all doubt that they do not intend to effect a change, that they have not the least desire to settle the differences, but that they are bent on treading the path of dissension and betrayal and of wrecking the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement.

The above trend of Khrushchev's activities goes to show that he would desire to put into effect his unrealizable dream of settling the affairs of others and those of the international communist movement by anti-Marxist methods in the days to come, too. But, to his ill luck, he will fail to find such partners. The affairs of others and those of the international communist movement can be solved and settled only at the appointed place, by those interested and by all the fraternal parties, and not at his bidding. This is the only Leninist way of settling matters. Khrushchev looks in vain for other ways.

On the other hand, it is obvious that the settlement of differences within the ranks of the international communist and workers' movement is of vital interest to the movement towards which all the Marxist-Leninist parties and all the communists of the world without exception bear their share of responsibility. Khrushchev, however, does not like the idea of taking into account the necessity of discussing and weighing the arguments of the various disputants within the ranks of each party as a preliminary phase for an international meeting so that the forum of international communism may reflect the true opinion of the millions of communists of the whole world. This is the line V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin

pursued during their lifetime and this is the line they have taught other communists to pursue.

As a matter of fact a broad discussion is going on in the world today concerning the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. The views of both sides have been clearly expressed. But the leaders of certain fraternal parties have not only put the writings that express Marxist-Leninist views "under quarantine" but have also distorted them. The masses of the communists of these Parties demand that they be shown the writings which express these views, but they are refused this privilege. The communists demand that this matter be taken up for discussion, but their demand has met with disapproval. Under these conditions the communists are obliged to look for ways to express their opinions in one manner or another. Let it, therefore, be brought home to those who set up such "quarantines" that if they ban discussions and take no notice of the opinion of the masses of communists — a thing which is contrary to Marxism and democracy — the latter will devise ways of expressing their opinion in the most varied forms and, without violating any Leninist rule, in a meeting of international communism, too. No Marxist-Leninist unity can be achieved in the international communist movement without, or contrary to, the will of the communists.

KHRUSHCHEV MAINTAINS AN OPENLY HOSTILE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PARTY OF LABOUR AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

In their letter of March 30 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Khrushchev's group, as

we said at the beginning of this article, launched a series of slanders and reproaches against the Party of Labour of Albania, laying bare once more their intentions to cause a split. We are not at all taken aback by this. Khrushchev persists in his hostile attitude towards the Party of Labour of Albania because the Party of Labour of Albania is an "undesirable" living example on which have been tried, but without success, all the "norms" of Khrushchev as regards relations with fraternal parties and countries of the socialist camp — from cajolery and promises to brutal interventions, pressures, blockades, slanders and calls for counter-revolution. How cynical and false sound the statements so often made, especially in recent times, by Khrushchev's group that the Soviet leaders abide by the principle of non-intervention in each other's internal affairs, of respect for all parties, big or small, of mutual aid and support, that airing differences between and launching attacks on fraternal parties in public can only aggravate matters, that extending ideological differences to the field of state relations among socialist countries is not permissible and very harmful and so on and so forth.

In his last letter to the Communist Party of China, Khrushchev uses his old tactics of attacks on the one hand, and of deceiving public opinion on the other.

He reiterates his widely known pretext that he has done and continues to do his utmost to settle the differences between our two parties and our two countries, but that all these efforts have failed to find the "necessary response" on the part of the Albanian leaders.

We have maintained for a long time and reiterate it now that these claims are completely groundless. The Party of Labour of Albania has more than once made it

clear through numerous facts and documents that the present leaders of the Soviet Union, with Khrushchev at the head, far from taking steps to improve Soviet-Albanian relations, have persisted in aggravating and deepening these differences by carrying cut hostile acts, each more grave than the other, against our Party and our country. In its article of February 7, 1963, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania proposed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that a joint publication be made of the written material of our two parties and governments and the correspondence exchanged between us on these differences, so as to lay bare the truth before public opinion. But this proposal of ours met with deadly silence on the part of Khrushchev's group. It is clear that Khrushchev dreads the truth and does not wish the facts as revealed by documents to become public knowledge nor to disclose what he was actually aiming at when he hastened to aggravate the Soviet-Albanian divergences. That is why he prefers to pursue the path of demagogy.

He tries to pursue the same path when he writes in the March 30 letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China that: "the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union again took initiative and advanced another proposal to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania to hold a bilateral meeting of the representatives of our two parties". It would have been much better if the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had quoted in full the letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on this matter, especially since it was only a very few lines, so

that the communists of the world could be convinced of the "comradely step and the practical application of the principles of respect, equality and independence of the fraternal parties"(!?) by the Soviet leaders with Khrushchev at the head. We urge the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to do a thing of this kind. We, on our part, considering the fact that Khrushchev strives to use the exchange of letters between our two parties at the beginning of March 1963, for new slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania, are herewith quoting the full text of our reply to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated March 13, 1963:

"On March 11, 1963 the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania received the Charge d'Affaires of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in Tirana, Miroslav Hollub, at his own request*. On instructions from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Charge d'Affaires of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic handed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, for its information, a copy of the letter which the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. It was accompanied by another letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, consisting of a few lines, through which the Central Committee of the Communist Party

* Editor's note: Ever since the Soviet Union's rupture of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania, the Czechoslovak Embassy in Tirana protects the interests of the USSR in Albania.

of the Soviet Union, claiming that its letter addressed to a third party should serve as a basis for harmonizing Soviet-Albanian relations, proposed, in passing, that (bilateral talks be conducted between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Party of Labour of Albania). The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania thinks that a step of this kind by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, made in this manner, utilizing the opportunity of a letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which contains arguments and considerations pertaining to the relations and need for talks between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, projects the Party of Labour of Albania as dependent on another party, a thing which can only be interpreted as humiliation, disparagement and contempt for the Party of Labour of Albania, as a violation of the principle of equality and mutual respect, an elementary principle in contacts and relations among communist and workers' parties. Therefore the above letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was rejected as unacceptable.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania cannot help thinking that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is again evidencing its lack of sincere desire to improve relations between our two parties and is apparently trying to establish a pretext that the Party of Labour of Albania is 'opposed to bilateral talks'.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, which abide by the Leninist principle of mutual respect in its relations with fraternal parties, has been and continues to be ready to welcome and give due attention to every letter and every proposal which the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union may forward to our Party, but it will reject any attempt to discredit the Party of Labour of Albania or to violate its independence and its equal rights in the international communist and workers' movement. The Party of Labour of Albania has been and is always ready for bilateral talks with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union provided the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union establishes all conditions of complete equality."

As can be clearly seen from the above letter of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the so-called "initiative" of the Soviet leaders for bilateral talks was in reality a pursuance of malicious ends and constituted an attempt to discredit the Party of Labour of Albania, to trample upon its independence.

This conclusion is evident to anyone who does not wilfully close his eyes in the face of the truth. It is further corroborated by Khrushchev's every act and attitude as regards relations with the Party of Labour of Albania in recent years. He has continuously maintained an attitude of disdain and of disregard towards our Party, considering it not as an equal and independent party, but as an

appendage or a tool in the hands of others. As early as November 6, 1960, at the time of the Moscow meeting of the 81 parties, proceeding from his chauvinist ideas of a bourgeois business man he said to the delegates of the Communist Party of China: "We have lost an Albania while you, the Chinese, have gained an Albania". In his closing speech at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in October 1961, where he vented all his anger and resentment against the Party of Labour of Albania, Khrushchev made open insinuations that our Party is a dependent one, calling upon the Chinese comrades that "if they want Soviet-Albanian relations improved, none better than they can help in this matter". He repeated these absurd accusations more openly and in the vilest of terms in his speech to the Supreme Soviet on December 12, 1962, where he alleged that the Party of Labour of Albania is primed and urged by certain "foul-mouthed ones" to "insult the mother Communist Party of the Soviet Union" and that they had paid the Party of Labour of Albania three kopeks for this service.

We are fully convinced that Khrushchev knew only too well that the proposal for bilateral talks with the Party of Labour of Albania made in the particular form, considering our Party as an appendage of a third party, was unacceptable to the Party of Labour of Albania, as it would be to any self-respecting independent party. But he needed this for demagogical purposes to deceive others, to lay the blame on the Party of Labour of Albania and to justify in this way his course of action against the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania, his attempt to oust them from the ranks of the commu-

nist movement and of the socialist camp. He needed this as a pretext to try to show that he has done his utmost to improve Soviet-Albanian relations and restore them to normal and that it was the Albanian leaders who opposed all meetings and talks.

This foresight of the Party of Labour of Albania was fully substantiated not long after. This is clearly demonstrated by the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on March 30, 1963.

It must be said that Khrushchev persists in playing his game. Significant is the fact that in their letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China the Soviet leaders stress: "If the desire is truly expressed we are ready to come to such a meeting". Here again the same tactics are employed, as if to say, "we have expressed our desire", "we have taken our stand", "we have had our say through the Communist Party of China", "now it is up to the Albanian leaders to have their say". We say to the Soviet leaders: Address yourselves to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, but observe the usual norms of respect and of mutual relations between parties. Establish conditions of full equality which you have so far trampled upon in your relations with the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania, if you are really in favor of harmonizing your relations. Take off your diplomatic gloves, stop all vain talk about prestige and demagogical phrases. Do not forget that you are very guilty towards the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania. If you think your anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian acts towards

the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania can pass so easily, you are gravely mistaken!

But Khrushchev and his group are not sincerely interested in talks and in the settlement of differences with the Party of Labour of Albania. This is evident also from the fact that even when speaking of talks and the settlement of differences, the Soviet leaders continue their attacks and calumnies against the Party of Labour of Albania. They accuse the Albanian leaders of continuing "their splitting activities" and "launching slanderous attacks" against the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union.

By accusing the Party of Labour of Albania as splitters, Khrushchev's group are trying to cover up the tracks of their own splitting activities. What does Khrushchev mean by the "splitting activities" of the Albanian leaders? Can the fact that the Party of Labour of Albania refused to submit to Khrushchev's dictates at the Bucharest and the Moscow meetings, that it had the courage to express its own views and to criticize Khrushchev's anti-Marxist views and acts at a meeting of the international communists, be called splitting activities, while Khrushchev's plots against fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties behind their backs and the endeavors to inveigle other Parties into these plots through threats and pressures are to be called Marxist-Leninist acts favoring unity? Why are we to praise as "Marxist-Leninist elasticity" Khrushchev's outright violation of the Moscow Declarations, while the observance of these documents by the Party of Labour of Albania and by other Marxist-Leninist parties should be called splitting activities? No, no! it is not the Party of Labour of Albania but Khrushchev's group that have

caused and are causing a lot of harm to the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement by their views and acts; it is they who have sowed and are sowing dissension among our ranks. And if Khrushchev raises a hue and cry about unity, facts show that he is not in favor of true Marxist-Leninist unity based on the Moscow Declarations, but of false, anti-Marxist unity on a revisionist basis.

In the March 30 letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China it is written that "the Albanian leaders have launched and continue to launch slanderous attacks" against the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union. Where and on what occasion have we slandered the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union? Let Khrushchev cite but one single example. Our Party and our people have always cherished and cherish great affection and respect for the glorious Bolshevik Party founded by Lenin and for the fraternal Soviet people. We have always considered and continue to consider them as our heartiest friends, nurture for them most brotherly internationalist feelings. We have been and will always be grateful to them for everything they have done for the good of our people and of our Party. The Party of Labour of Albania continuously cultivates the feeling of love for the Soviet Union among communists and the masses of the people. This is manifested in all its acts and propaganda; it is manifested also in its press which keep them well informed about the life and the achievements of the Soviet workers regardless of the fact that the Soviet press has these last three years written not a single word about

the endeavors and struggle of the Albanian people for socialism. The principled struggle which the Party of Labour of Albania is waging against revisionism is at the same time a struggle in defense of the Soviet Union. Time will verify this.

Nor have we ever launched any slanders against Khrushchev's group itself. We have always told the truth, referring to the real facts, to Khrushchev's attitude and deeds. We have said that Khrushchev was the first to air our differences in public. He did this at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, giving our enemies an advantage and creating in this way a harmful precedent in the international communist movement, whereby the congress of a party is used as a platform from which to launch arbitrary attacks on other parties. We have said and do say that Khrushchev's group suspended all credits, withdrew all Soviet experts, expelled Albanian students from the schools of the Soviet Union, annulled trade, cultural and military agreements and ruptured even its diplomatic relations, setting up a total blockade against the People's Republic of Albania. We have said and do say that Khrushchev's group has slanderously described the leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania as agents of imperialism, sold to it for thirty pieces of silver. We have said and do say that Khrushchev and his group have openly taken under their protection the enemies of our people's power who have been condemned as traitors to the Fatherland and as agents of foreign espionage, as well as various anti-Party elements, and at the same time have called for an overthrow of the leadership of the Party and of the state in Albania, thereby interfering in the crudest manner in the

internal affairs of our Party and of our country. These have all been documented. We could mention here a number of other facts as, for instance, the hostile and arbitrary conduct of Khrushchev's group towards the People's Republic of Albania in connection with the Warsaw Treaty and the Council of Mutual Economic Aid. But we do not deem it necessary to go into more detail on this and other matters at this time.

Such are some of the facts to which we have referred in our polemics with Khrushchev's group. If these are slanders as Khrushchev claims, then let him take courage to deny in public these acts with which the world is already acquainted, acts which in international practice resemble in their entirety steps which one country undertakes against another on the verge of the declaration of war.

In fact it is not we but Khrushchev who shamelessly slanders our Party and our country. What is Khrushchev after? Does he intend that we should shut our mouth and keep silent while he continues to discredit, to slander and to act against the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania? This is unacceptable. Let it be clear once and for all that this is not the way that leads to the settlement of differences and the improvement of Soviet-Albanian relations.

If Khrushchev is eager to find a solution of the differences and to strengthen unity, he must show this by deeds, undertake real — not fictitious — steps, to remove all obstacles he has laid in the relations between our two parties. Just as he took the courage to launch slanderous attacks, to interfere in the internal affairs of, and to carry on hostile acts against, our Party and our country, so

should he now take the courage to publicly condemn these anti-Marxist attitudes and acts and to begin the strict observance of the international norms in relations between communist and workers' parties and between socialist countries. We will welcome any honest step in this direction.